

American SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

The Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

Volume 7

AUGUST, 1942

Number 4

Contents

The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil	E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER	465
Some Aspects of Fertility and Population Growth in Vienna	ALEXANDER STEVENSON	479
Notes on the Changing Mexican Family	NORMAN S. HAYNER	489
Comment	ROBERT REDFIELD	497
Some Factors in Family Fertility among Selected Wisconsin Farmers		
.	GEORGE W. HILL AND HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN	498
Family Trends in the United States, 1890 to 1940		
.	PAUL C. GLICK	505
Comment	ROBERT C. ANGELL	515
The Child's Preference for Father or Mother		
.	MEYER F. NIMKOFF	517
A New Emphasis for Neighborhood Research.		
.	FRANK L. SWEETSER, JR.	525
Official Reports and Proceedings		
Report of the Committee on Social Research		534
Analysis of the 1942 Census of Research		
.	HENRY D. SHELDON, JR.	534
The 1942 Census of Research		538
Federal Agency and Private Foundation Research in Progress		549
Current Items		
Announcements and Meetings		555
News from Colleges and Universities		558
Obituary Notice		
Mariano H. Cornejo.	L. L. BERNARD	560
Book Reviews		561
Book Notes		586

(The above articles are indexed in the *International Index to Periodicals* and the *Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service*)

American SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1942

President, DWIGHT SANDERSON, Cornell University
First Vice-President, HAROLD A. PHELPS, Univ. of Pittsburgh
Second Vice-President, KATHARINE JOCHER, Univ. of N. Carolina
Secretary-Treasurer, CONRAD TAEUBER, U. S. Dept. of Agri.

FORMER PRESIDENTS

E. A. ROSS, Univ. of Wisconsin	L. L. BERNARD, Washington Univ.
J. P. LICHTENBERGER, Univ. of Penn.	E. B. REUTER, State Univ. of Iowa
C. A. ELLWOOD, Duke Univ.	E. W. BURGESS, Univ. of Chicago
R. E. PARK, Fisk Univ.	F. S. CHAPIN, Univ. of Minn.
J. L. GILLIN, Univ. of Wisconsin	H. P. FAIRCHILD, New York Univ.
W. I. THOMAS, Berkeley, Calif.	E. FARIS, Univ. of Chicago
J. M. GILLETTE, Univ. of N. Dak.	F. H. HANKINS, Smith College
W. F. OGBURN, Univ. of Chicago	E. H. SUTHERLAND, Indiana Univ.
H. W. ODUM, Univ. of N. C.	S. A. QUEEN, Washington Univ.
E. S. BOGARDUS, Univ. of S. Calif.	

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

PRESIDENT, the two VICE-PRESIDENTS, and the last five former PRESIDENTS.
Elected at Large: R. S. LYND, Columbia Univ.; J. K. FOLSOM, Vassar College;
HERBERT BLUMER, Univ. of Chicago; E. F. FRAZIER, Howard Univ.; J. O.
HERTZLER, Univ. of Nebr.; R. B. VANCE, Univ. of N. C. *Elected from Affiliated
Societies*: C. C. TAYLOR, Dist. of Columbia; N. E. HIMES, Eastern; C. W.
HART, Mid-Western; C. R. HOFFER, Ohio Valley; P. H. LANDIS, Pacific;
B. O. WILLIAMS, Rural; E. T. KRUEGER, Southern; W. H. SEWELL, South-
western.

ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE

PRESIDENT, SECRETARY-TREASURER, EDITOR OF THE *Review*. *Elected by the
Executive Committee*: STUART A. QUEEN, RUPERT B. VANCE, PAUL H. LANDIS.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

The Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

EDITORIAL BOARD

DWIGHT SANDERSON <i>President</i>	READ BAIN <i>Editor</i>	CONRAD TAEUBER <i>Managing Editor</i>
<i>Assistant Editors</i>		
P. V. YOUNG	L. S. COTTRELL, JR.	T. L. SMITH
DONALD YOUNG	M. A. ELLIOTT	R. T. LAPIERE

Book Review Editors: LELAND C. DEVINNEY, THOMAS C. MCCORMICK
327 Sterling Hall, Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

The AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW is published at 450 Ahnaip Street, Menasha, Wisconsin, bi-monthly in February, April, June, August, October and December. Copyright 1942 by the American Sociological Society.

Membership dues of the Society, including subscription, are \$6.00 per Year. Subscription rates: non-members, \$4.00; libraries, \$3.00; students, \$2.50. Single issues, \$1.00. Postage is paid by the publishers in the United States, Canada, and other countries in the Pan-American Union; other countries in the Postal Union, fifty cents.

Address all business communications to the Managing Editor, U. S. Dept. of Agri., Washington, D. C. Changes of address must be requested at least one month in advance.

Address all editorial communications to the Editor, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. All unsolicited manuscripts must enclose return postage.

Address all matters pertaining to book reviews to Book Review Editors, 327 Sterling Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Menasha, Wisconsin, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 28, 1925, embodied in paragraph 4, section 538, P.L. and R., authorized June 4, 1936.

SURVEY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

By MARION B. SMITH, *Louisiana State University*

THIS new text gives the beginning student in the social sciences a foundation of knowledge and understanding that will be invaluable to him as preparation for further courses or as a terminal survey of the field. The author has skillfully avoided the inclusion of detail which rightfully belongs to more advanced courses and, at the same time, has succeeded in presenting a substantial body of material. The preview paragraphs which introduce the chapters, the questions for discussion, the bibliographies, and the many striking illustrations furnish valuable study aids.

690 pages. Illustrations. \$3.75

Houghton Mifflin Company

Boston

New York

Chicago

Atlanta

Dallas

San Francisco

YOU AND MARRIAGE

By Lecturers in "Marriage," Cleveland College, Western Reserve University

Practical education for marriage from the viewpoint of the sociologist, the economist, and the physiologist. Answers the questions of the teacher, the student, and the layman. Modern, readable . . . written by fourteen recognized authorities. Includes chapters on the Psychology of Attraction, the Relation of Health to Marriage, Religion and the Family, Pregnancy and Birth, Money Management. Just published.

296 pages

6 by 9

\$2.50

Edited by

Helen Mougey Jordan

JOHN WILEY & SONS, INC.
440 FOURTH AVE., NEW YORK

When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

SOCIOLOGY—A Study of Society and Culture

Kimball Young

Professor of Sociology, Queens College

New in treatment and physical make-up, this text provides the basis for a challenging introductory course which takes into account current conditions. Arrangement of chapters and materials is based on the results of an extensive investigation of teacher preference. The presentation is documented with new charts, graphs, figures, and pictures. Topics of special interest are: The Sociology of War, The Cumulative Character of Culture, Democracy vs. Totalitarianism, Recent Cultural Change as an epitome of the Variability of Culture.

Approx., 1000 pages, \$4.00

PROBLEMS OF A CHANGING SOCIAL ORDER

John M. Gillette, *Professor of Sociology*
University of North Dakota

James M. Reinhardt, *Professor of Sociology*
University of Nebraska

This new book is characterized by the objectivity and comprehensiveness which has made its predecessor, *Current Social Problems*, a leading text for elementary courses. Proceeding from a thorough consideration of the nature and scope of social problems, the authors seek to increase the student's ability to understand the organization of society, to detect the causes of maladjustments, to anticipate trends and give proper consideration to controlling them. Throughout a careful balance is preserved in the consideration of both urban and rural problems. All available sources have been drawn upon to supply the most recent pertinent data.

865 pages, \$4.00

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

New York Cincinnati Chicago Boston Atlanta Dallas San Francisco

When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

American SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

Volume 7

AUGUST, 1942

Number 4

THE NEGRO FAMILY IN BAHIA, BRAZIL*

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

THE TITLE is a misnomer for two reasons: first, this study is based almost entirely upon materials collected on only fifty families in the city of Bahia; and secondly, the designation "Negro family" has certain connotations for Americans which are misleading in regard to race relations in Brazil. Therefore, by way of introduction, I shall indicate first the nature and scope of the materials upon which this study is based and then give a brief account of the racial and cultural background of the population of Bahia. The data upon which our analysis is based consist of one to three interviews with each of fifty-five families during four and a half months residence in the city of Bahia. Forty of these families lived close to the seat or temple (o terreiro) of a religious cult, the Gantois Candomblé, in a semirural area of Bahia, known as Federação.¹ Sixteen of these forty families formed a close community about the Candomblé. In addition to these forty families, fifteen other families were interviewed in order to obtain comparative data on families occupying a different economic and social status. These families included three physicians, a teacher, a law graduate, two stevedores, a weaver, and three leaders of religious cults. Interview materials of a miscellaneous nature, which were obtained from many other persons, helped to give the investigator some general knowledge of the character of the family among certain classes in the population of Bahia.

Bahia, or Salvador, as the city was originally named in 1549, is located in the tropical part of Brazil on a bay 700 miles north of Rio de Janeiro. It was originally settled by a heterogeneous population consisting of adventurers and criminals banished from Portugal, impoverished noblemen, Jews expelled by the Inquisition, Jesuits and Catholic priests, and some gypsies.² The males among the indigenous Indian population were killed

* Presented to the American Sociological Society, Dec. 27, 1941, at New York City.

¹ Arthur Ramos, *O Negro Brasileiro*, 57-74, São Paulo, 1940.

² See Donald Pierson, *A Study of Racial and Cultural Adjustment in Bahia, Brazil*, 1-6 unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1939, for an excellent digest of materials on the history of the city of Bahia.

or driven into the interior and the Portuguese settlers took the Indian women as wives and concubines. During the sixteenth century, Bahia, or the Bay of All Saints, became one of the principal ports for the importation of Negro slaves. So great was the demand for slaves for the cultivation of sugar cane in the rural area surrounding the port that from 1785 to 1806 over 100,000 Negro slaves entered the port of Bahia.³ On the basis of wealth produced by slave labor, Bahia became the center of Portuguese culture and its aristocracy became powerful in the affairs of the Brazilian state.

In contrast to the situation in the United States, the Portuguese and Brazilians had some knowledge of the tribal and cultural backgrounds of the imported Negro slaves. As stated by Ramos:

At the beginning of the slave trade, the largest number of those imported into Brazil were from Angola, the Congo and Guinea. When more active communication began with Bahia, the leading source of supply was Guinea and the western Sudan. There began a remarkable influx of Yorubas, Minas from the Gold Coast, Dohomans and various Islamized tribes such as the Hausas, Tapas, Mandingos, and Fulahs.⁴

Unlike the Negro in the United States, these Negro slaves were able to re-establish to some extent in the New World their traditional social organization and religious practices. In fact, it was due to this that they were able to organize their revolts which were more successful than similar attempts in the United States. In order to suppress these revolts, it became necessary to expel Mohammedan Negroes from Brazil. Nevertheless, many elements of African culture survived, especially religious practices that are perpetuated in the Candomblé, a religious cult, which embodies a fusion of African practices and Catholicism.

The type of rural civilization which grew up in Brazil on the basis of African slavery has been described by Gilberto Freyre in his celebrated work, *Casa Grande e Senzala*.⁵ As indicated in the subtitle of this book, slavery became the basis of a patriarchal economy. Under the patriarchal organization, the Portuguese and the Negro slaves lived in close and intimate association, the racial and cultural background of the Portuguese having facilitated such association.⁶ As a result of this association, a large class of mixed-bloods came into existence who enjoyed special privileges because of their kinship with the master class. These mixed-bloods became important in the history of Brazil as the once stable rural patriarchal organization began to disintegrate and urban communities began to dominate the life of the country during the first half of the nineteenth century. In a book describing this process, Gilberto Freyre devotes a chapter to the rise of the

³ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

⁴ Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil*, 11, Washington, D. C., 1939.

⁵ Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala*, Rio de Janeiro, 1939. *Casa Grande e Senzala* may be translated as *The "Big House" and the Slave Quarters*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

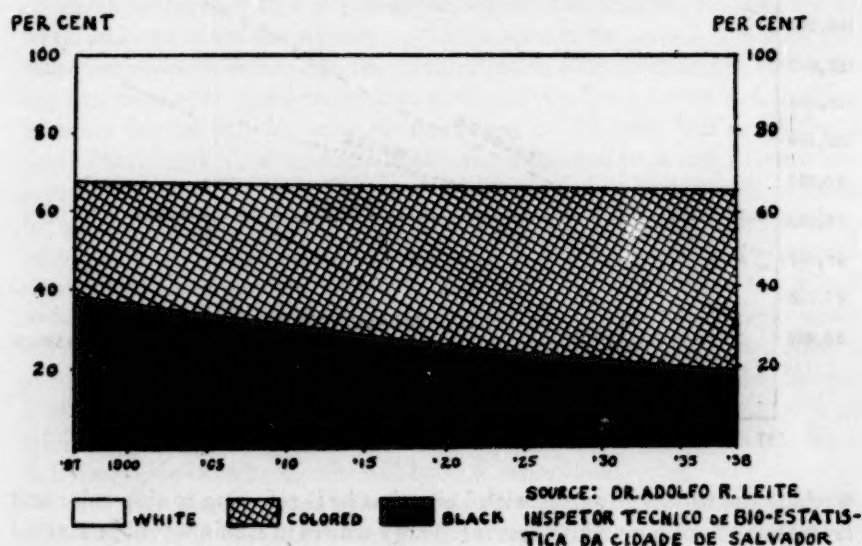
Adolfo
of Bah
birth
was re
that t
were b
Accord
in the
blacks

⁷ Gilb
translates
⁸ Pier

bachelor of arts and the mulatto.⁷ In the mobile, urban society that came into existence, the mixed-blood found an opportunity to compete on almost equal terms with the pure blooded Portuguese. During this period, the pure blooded Negroes, especially after emancipation, became more mobile and lost much of their African culture. In the absence of race prejudice, such as exists in the United States, the increasing mobility of the Negroes accelerated the mixture of the races. It is impossible to secure accurate figures on the extent of race mixture. Diagram I is based upon the estimates of

DIAGRAM I

ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION OF THE CITY OF BAHIA WHITE, COLORED, AND BLACK: 1897-1938.



Adolfo R. Leite, the statistician in the Department of Health of the City of Bahia, who made his estimates on the basis of the school population and birth and death rates. Leite, realizing the unreliability of these statistics, was reluctant to have them used for scientific purposes, but it is significant that they are practically the same as Donald Pierson's estimates, which were based upon an inspection of 5000 persons attending a festival in 1936.⁸ According to Leite's estimates, from 1897 to 1938 the proportion of whites in the population remained about 33 percent, whereas the proportion of blacks declined from 38 to 19 percent. In 1936, Pierson estimated that 32.7

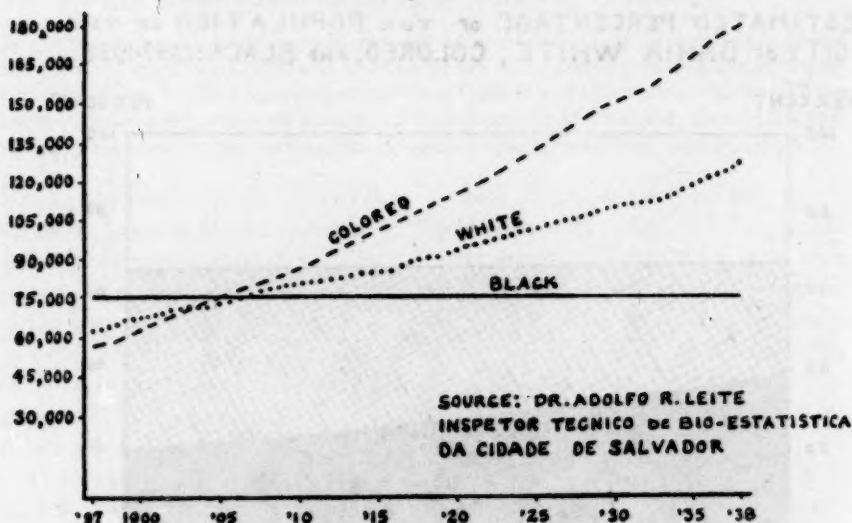
⁷ Gilberto Freyre, *Sabrados e Mucambos*, São Paulo, 1936. The title of this book may be translated as *Two Storied Town Houses and Huts*.

⁸ Pierson, *op. cit.*, 99.

percent of the population was white and 18 percent black. Both Leite and Pierson estimated that about 50 percent of the population was colored or mulatto.⁹ According to Leite's estimates, the black population has remained stationary from the standpoint of numbers, whereas the whites have doubled and the colored have almost tripled their numbers. (See Diagram II.) Although Pierson uses the term European for white in his table, in de-

DIAGRAM II

ESTIMATED GROWTH OF WHITE, COLORED, AND BLACK ELEMENTS
IN THE POPULATION OF THE CITY OF BAHIA, 1897-1938.



scribing the whites he agrees with Leite that he is referring to skin color and features and not pure white descent. Many whites in Bahia would be classed as mulattoes in the United States. That the vast majority of the population is mulatto is indicated in the designation of the city as "*A Velha Mulatta*," or "The Old Mulatto Woman."

In his study of racial and cultural adjustment in Bahia, Donald Pierson has given a brief but excellent account of the history and the present economic and cultural organization of this city.¹⁰ This study indicates that although the city of Bahia has a population of nearly 400,000, or about the same as Indianapolis, it is not a highly urbanized community in the sociological sense. In the lower city, there is a cluster of modern stores and banks on several streets, hemmed in by a medieval market and ancient churches.

⁹ According to Dr. Leite the percentage of colored (*pardos*) in the population increased from 29 in 1897 to 47.4 in 1938.

¹⁰ See Donald Pierson, *op. cit.*, Chapters I and II.

When one mounts to the upper city by a modern Otis elevator, one finds a main thoroughfare with a large modern hotel, small shops and a department store. Outside these areas, the richly appointed homes of the wealthy as well as the decayed houses of the poor bear the marks of a medieval civilization in a tropical setting. Within fifteen minutes after leaving the modern hotel, a street car brings one suddenly to semirural areas with mud and clay thatched huts shaded by tropical vegetation. It was in one of these areas, Federação, at the terminus of a streetcar line, that forty of our families lived.

Most of the houses in this section of the city have two rooms and are built of saplings and blocks of mud or clay with roofs of palm fronds. The better houses are covered with clay that is tinted or whitewashed, with wooden or concrete floors and tile roofs. The *seita*, or seat of cult, the Gantois Candomblé, is a one-story building about forty by sixty feet, one half of which is devoted to the ceremonies of the Candomblé, though women work and sew there during the day. This section has only a dirt floor and there are windows with shutters on three sides. The other half of the building has rooms for altars to African gods and Catholic saints and dwelling quarters for the *mãe de santo* (woman head of the cult) and her *filhas de santo* (daughters in saintliness). The *seita* is located on a low plateau surrounded by trees beyond the end of the streetcar line and may be reached by several footpaths. At the time of our study there were all together nineteen family groups living about the *seita*. These families formed a community of neighbors and friends who sought advice and help from the *mãe de santo* in case of need, sickness, or death. Not all of these families were members of the cult. Within the temple or *seita* itself there were three family groups, constituted as follows: a mother with three daughters; three sisters with a brother; the *mãe de santo* with two of her own children and an adopted child. During the course of an analysis of the data on the forty families, these sketchy details will become more meaningful.

From what has been said concerning the racial background of the population of Bahia, it is not surprising that these families showed considerable racial mixture. None of the persons interviewed regarded themselves as Negroes but simply as Brazilians. They used the term black as a means of identifying themselves with reference to color but not as to race. As far as possible, we attempted to construct genealogical trees showing the racial origin of each person interviewed.¹¹ This information was, of course, limited by their knowledge of their ancestors. About a fourth, or eleven, of the persons interviewed had no knowledge of their grandparents. Only seventeen

¹¹ In nearly all of these forty families, only the wife or mother was interviewed because it was difficult to interview the men who were at work during the day and sometimes at night. Moreover, in arranging the interviews with our informant and his wife, whose home was generally used for the interviews, it was easier to secure the cooperation of the wives and mothers, who were in fact better able than their husbands to give the required information on the family. The investigator interviewed all persons in Portuguese.

had knowledge of all their grandparents or earlier ancestors, the remaining twelve knowing only one to three grandparents who were about equally divided between paternal and maternal line. Therefore, for only seventeen of our informants were we able to use genealogical trees in the determination of racial background. The genealogical trees of these seventeen informants showed the following backgrounds: six white and Negro; two Negro and Indian; two white, Negro, and Indian; two white and Indian; one pure white; and four pure Negroes. The remaining 23 families interviewed showed in their partial genealogies or physical appearance the same types of racial mixtures. These statistics are not important except that they express quantitatively the fact that these families represent all degrees of mixtures. However, one fact of significance is that the majority of those who did not know anything about their ancestors were black and Negroid enough in their appearance to be regarded as pure Africans. Another factor of importance in regard to the group of families as a whole is the means of designating the race of their ancestors. Negro ancestors were designated as African or black, African being the term used for those who were born in Africa. The term *Caboclo*, which meant Indian and white mixture, was used interchangeably in two cases with *Cigano*, meaning gypsy. There is reason to believe some of those claiming *Caboclo* ancestors preferred the term to mulatto which implied Negro ancestry.

Our interest in the racial and cultural backgrounds of the persons interviewed was due primarily to our effort to discover the influence of African traditions and culture in the organization and functioning of their families. In attempting such a study, the writer was working in a virgin field, since investigators who have interested themselves in African survivals in Brazil have been concerned with the study of religious practices and beliefs, music, dances, and folklore.¹² This is doubtless attributable to the fact, as pointed out by Ramos, that slavery changed completely the social behavior of the Negro and that African culture survived only in his folklore.¹³ That this has been true specifically in regard to the Negro family was borne out in the data which were collected on the families studied.

The first fact that impresses one about the families of our informants as a whole is that they lack the characteristics of a well established institution. This is indicated not only in their lack of knowledge concerning their ancestors but also in the absence of family traditions and continuity in family life. Whatever influence African traditions might have exerted upon the family organization of their African forebears in the New World had evidently been lost through racial mixture and the mobility of these families.

¹² See Gilberto Freyre e outros, *Novos Estudos Afro-brasileiros* Trabalhos apresentados ao 1.º Congresso Afro-brasileiro do Recife, Rio de Janeiro, 1937, and Vários Autores, *O Negro no Brasil*, Trabalhos apresentados ao 2.º Congresso Afro-brasileiro Rio de Janeiro, 1940.

¹³ Arthur Ramos, "Culturas Negras: Problemas de Acculturação no Brasil," in *O Negro no Brasil*, 153-154.

Only three of the forty informants had any knowledge of African words and these words had been acquired in the Candomblé. In many of the families, African foods were eaten but such foods were eaten as they are eaten in many families in Bahia and even in the large hotel which is patronized by Brazilian intellectuals, business men, and foreigners. In only three cases were these foods eaten in connection with what might be called African rites and ceremonies. The important fact about such practices is that they were not transmitted through the family but had been acquired in the Candomblé.

The manner in which these practices have been acquired is shown in the case of one of the few informants who were able to trace their ancestry to African origins (See Diagram III). This informant was a big, black, single woman of twenty-three years of age who made her living as a seamstress at fifteen cents a day. She was a *filha de santo* (daughter in saintliness) but went regularly to the Catholic Church. Her great grandfather, whom she described as of Nagô-Gêge or of Yoruba-Ewe mixture, died when she was a "small child." She had a vague memory that he could speak an African language, but she was too young to learn the language. In regard to family ties, the most important person was her mother who had married and had five children who were with her in Rio de Janeiro. After this marriage, her mother had lived "*maritalmente*," or as the common-law wife, of a man for a few years during which time our informant was born. When our informant was left as an orphan, she was taken into the Candomblé where she learned a few African words, the meaning of which she had no knowledge. When interviewed, she was living with her father's nephew who acted as a father, requiring her to be in the house by dark. She said that she was a virgin and observed her *obrigações*, or certain ceremonies, in regard to foods and other rites connected with the Candomblé. As to the future, she wanted to be married in the Catholic Church and have children if it were the will of God.

Because of the importance of the Candomblé in the social life of certain elements in the black and colored population in Bahia, we shall consider at this point its relation to the families studied. The Candomblé has been studied by several Brazilian anthropologists¹⁴ and by two American scholars, Donald Pierson and Ruth Landes.¹⁵ Briefly described, the Candomblé is a religious institution in which African fetish worship has been fused with Catholic beliefs and practices. In the most important Candomblés in Bahia, the African practices are derived from the Yoruba nation or Nagô

¹⁴ See Nina Rodrigues, *Os Africanos no Brasil*, 2.a Edison, São Paulo, 1935 and *O Animismo Fetichista dos Negros Bahianos*, Rio de Janeiro, 1935 and more especially Arthur Ramos, *O Negro Brasileiro*, São Paulo, 1940; and Edison Carneiro, *Religiões Negras*, Rio de Janeiro, 1936 and *Negros Bantus*, Rio de Janeiro, 1937.

¹⁵ Donald Pierson, *A Study of Racial Adjustment in Bahia, Brazil*, Chicago, 1939, and Ruth Landes, "A Cult Matriarchate and Male Homosexuality," *J. Abnor. and Soc. Psychol.*, 1940, 35: 386-397.

lic Church; and two thirds of these regarded both as forms of religious expression. The remainder went to the Candomblé in order to enjoy themselves or "*apreciar*" the rites and were not participants. In fact, some of our informants made it clear that they went to the Catholic Church for worship and to the Candomblé in order to enjoy themselves. Of the remaining one fourth of our informants who did not go to the Candomblé, three did not attend even the Catholic Church.

Undoubtedly, in the past the Candomblé played a more important part in the religious life of the Negroes and provided group sanction for familial behavior that had been carried over from Africa. An old black informant said that when she came to Bahia over a half century ago, the Africans were living in a large house under a *pae de santo* (father in sainthood) and had a communistic division of the products of their labor which was carried on individually. They spoke an African language and practiced African rites. However, when she was seventeen years of age, she married the son of a gypsy woman who was opposed to the African way of life. This old woman, now widowed, attends the Catholic Church and the Candomblé.¹⁴ This woman is one of the relatively few living ties with the African past. For example, in the old Candomblé Engenho Velho there are a few very old women living in the temple which was established over a hundred years ago by free Africans. The *mãe de santo*, who is over eighty years of age, is the daughter of two Africans, both of the Yoruba nation, who were brought to Brazil as slaves. She did not remember how many wives her father had but she was sure that his plurality of wives was sanctioned by the Candomblé.

In the family histories of three persons closely connected with the Candomblé, we can see how the African patterns of family life became disintegrated or were lost. In the Gantois Candomblé, which was in the neighborhood we studied, the office of *mãe de santo*, or priestess of the cult, has been filled by four generations of women in the same family. According to the present *mãe de santo*, her great grandfather was born in Africa of the Egba-Arake Tribe and was brought to Brazil as a slave. In Brazil, he married according to Catholic rites an African woman of the Gêge-Mahin Nation or Tribe, though he had another woman as a concubine. His wife was connected with a Candomblé and an African society in Bahia. This great grandmother left the Candomblé and founded the Gantois Candomblé over a hundred years ago. She was the mother of ten children. One of her daughters succeeded her as the *mãe de santo* of the Candomblé. Another daughter, who was the grandmother of the present *mãe de santo*, lived "*maritalmente*" with a musician by whom she had three children, two boys and a girl. When

¹⁴ When her daughter began to show signs of possession, some people said that she was crazy but her "husband," who was an *ogan* of the Candomblé, said that she was possessed of an Indian spirit. There are today in Bahia *Caboclo* Candomblés that are organized about the worship of Indian deities. See Landes, *op. cit.*, 391-394.

the girl grew to womanhood, she succeeded her aunt as the *mãe de santo* in Candomblé. She also lived "*maritalmente*" with a man who was a carpenter and bore him one child, the present *mãe de santo*. The present informant says that her great grandfather told her stories of Africa and slavery in Brazil. However, it was his daughter who became the *mãe de santo* who taught her African rites and the Yoruba language only a few words of which she knows at present. The present *mãe de santo* lived "*maritalmente*" with a man by whom she had two children.

The second family history is of a black man, sixty-one years of age, who is a *pae de santo* of a Bantu Candomblé.¹⁷ He has little knowledge of his past except that he knew that he was the only child of his mother who was not married to his father. When eight years of age, he was given by his mother to his father who had been born free but had continued in the employ of his father's owner, a white woman. This white woman who became our informant's godmother was a member of a Candomblé. Our informant learned African rites and some knowledge of an African language from the *mãe de santo*, or priestess, who had learned African from an Angola man. Before his marriage 23 years ago, he lived for a time with two women, having had three children by the first and one child by the second woman. These children are living at present with their mothers. By his legal wife, he has had three children who live with him in the Candomblé which he inherited from the *mãe de santo* twelve years ago. Besides his own family, there are also living in the cult house a "*comadre*," or godmother, for the neophytes; three *filhas de santo* including an adopted daughter; and two nephews and two grandchildren. According to the *pae de santo*, when a person is taken into the Candomblé, she is baptized and given an African name. Since these ceremonies are secret and the neophytes swear not to reveal them, the investigator could not learn their nature. According to our informant, since the members of the Candomblé are regarded as brothers and sisters, no intermarriages are permitted between them.

The third informant is a man over eighty years of age who, in the words of one of the leading Brazilian novelists, is "the most noble and most impressive figure among the blacks in Brazil today." His father, who was of the Egba tribe, was brought to Brazil as a slave in the 1820's and freed in 1842. His mother was of the Yoruba Nation and was bought by her husband in 1855. His father and mother were never married either according to Catholic rites or Mohammedan rites, though at the time many Negroes were married according to Mohammedan rites. His grandfather, who was a warrior in Africa, had forty wives and his father, following African polygynous practices had five wives, of whom his mother was the chief wife. Although his father had a child by another woman before setting up his household, this woman was not included in the household. His father had four

¹⁷ See Edison Carneiro, *Negros Bantus*.

children, including our informant, by his chief wife. All of the cousins were considered brothers and sisters and, because he was the child of the chief wife, he had a special place in the family. He learned Yoruba from his parents and when around fourteen years of age went with his father to Africa. He remained eleven years in Africa where he perfected his knowledge of Yoruba in an English mission school. When he returned to Brazil he was long a *babalão*, or a sort of "father in saintliness." In former times, the *babalão* was a male connected with the Candomblés who practiced divination and sorcery. The sex life of our informant was of a casual nature until his marriage when fifty years of age. He had one child in Africa and, after returning to Brazil, he had about twenty children but did not know how many different mothers they had. He knows only one grandchild to whom he has given an African name just as he received from his parents an African name in addition to his Brazilian name. He and his first wife, to whom he was married by Catholic and civil rites, lived together fourteen years until her death. Only two years ago, he married another woman, according to Catholic and civil rites, who had been kind to him during an illness.

These three family histories have been presented because they show how African family patterns have disintegrated even when they had the support of a religious cult in which African practices have been perpetuated. However, there are certain facts in the family history of the priestess, as for example, the dominance of the female and the inheritance of the cult house, that might lead one to speculate upon the persistence of African culture pattern. It will be remembered that her great grandmother was Ewe-Mahin origin, African tribes among which descent is traced in the female line and property is inherited by males on the mother's side. When we examine closely the data on her family, we find no consistent culture pattern but rather an accommodation to Brazilian conditions. The cult house was the property of the great grandmother and, instead of being inherited according to family law, it was given the next priestess. The family arrangements appear to be similar to Negro folk in the southern part of the United States. Likewise, in the case of the *pae de santo* of the Bantu Candomblé, there appear evidences of exogamous regulations concerning the members of the Candomblé which might have African origins. From the studies of Brazilian anthropologists, we know that Bantu culture either disappeared in Brazil or became merged in the Bantu Candomblés with the rituals and beliefs of the Sudanese Negroes. The disorganization of African patterns of family life are clearly shown in the case of the *babalão*. The father of our informant continued the polygynous practices of his African forebears and the system of family relationships according to which all cousins were regarded as brothers and sisters was perpetuated in Brazil. Our informant's sex life did not follow any consistent culture pattern. When he decided to form a marriage relationship, he married according to one in his position in Brazil. His

interest at present in African culture is due partly to family tradition and racial pride and he is skeptical of the African beliefs and practices. His many illegitimate children and grandchildren are scattered in the Brazilian population and have not become the inheritors of African traditions. In fact, as far as I was able to discover, this was generally true of the blacks and persons of African descent. There were no rigid culture patterns governing their family behavior. They exhibited the same characteristics as folk and peasant societies in other parts of the world.¹⁸

The manner in which the men and women in our families met and mated shows on the whole an absence of a consistent pattern of behavior though the influence of the Portuguese customs is apparent. More than half of the women had met their mates at work, casually on the street, or at the various festivals. The type of associations to which such contacts led is indicated by their marital status. Twenty of the women were married; ten had been married by both civil and church authorities; all except two of the remaining ten had been married by the church authorities alone. There were two women who called themselves widows, one of whom had never been married. Of the five single women, three said that they were virgins, and two were having casual sex relations with men. The remaining thirteen women in our forty families were living "*maritalmente*" with men, or in what we call a common-law relationship. To live "*maritalmente*" is sharply differentiated from a casual relation with a man.¹⁹ It appears to be a customary form of marriage relationship which has grown up among the poorer classes because of the cost of a church or civil marriage. These marriages are evidently relatively stable since some of the couples had been together fifteen to twenty years and had reared large families.

In the organization of the families of our informants, there could be no question concerning the influence of the patriarchal family traditions of the Portuguese. In fact, as Landes has indicated, the position of *ogans*, or male providers, in the Candomblé and the *mãe de santo* bear a striking resemblance to the man's position in his household and the elder woman's position in the Brazilian family.²⁰ In every family where there was a male, except one, the man was recognized as the head of the house. The one exception was the case of a woman who owned the house. However, the subordination of the woman in these families was not as great as among the upper class Brazilian families. As pointed out by a Brazilian sociologist, the superior position of the Negro woman has been due to the loose family ties which have thrown

¹⁸ Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society and Culture," in *Eleven Twenty-Six, A Decade of Social Science Research*, 39-50, Chicago, 1940.

¹⁹ The two women who were having casual sex relations exhibited some shame when they said they were not living "*maritalmente*" with men. On the other hand, the women who were living "*maritalmente*" with their "husbands" exhibited the same pride as a woman who had entered a civil or church marriage.

²⁰ Landes, *op. cit.*, 391.

upon her the responsibility of the family and to some extent to the woman's position in the Candomblé.²¹ So far as our forty families were concerned, it appeared that the absence of institutional controls was primarily responsible for the woman's important position in family organizations. Where there had been legal or church marriages, the man was undoubtedly the head of the family. Although the same was generally true of common-law marriage, such relationships were more easily broken and the woman was often left with the responsibility of caring for the children.

Because of the weakness of institutional controls, the family among the majority of our informants tended to assume the character of a natural organization. In the vast majority of our families, the father and husband was an artisan earning about fifty cents per day who rented a house and a small plot of land for his family. In about a fourth of the families, there were three children who were cared for by their mothers during the day while their fathers were at work. Some of these men were known to have affairs with other women but their wives generally regarded this as a masculine privilege in a patriarchal society, but, generally, common interests and bonds of sympathy and affection held the men to their wives and children. As in the southern United States, where the family among many Negroes develops as a natural organization, some of the families included adopted children who had been left as orphans.²² Only one woman said that she did not like and did not want children. The other wives and mothers regarded children, however numerous, as a gift from God. The children were generally treated indulgently by their fathers as well as their mothers. The girls were subject to the discipline of most girls in the Brazilian household. In a number of families where the girls had escaped parental surveillance to the extent that they could be suspected of sexual relations, they had been expelled from the household. In some cases in which their parents had not been married by civil or religious authorities, such girls had often been forgiven and protected by an indulgent mother. The girl's parents were more likely to be indulgent if the boy intended to live "*maritalmente*" with the girl and assume the obligations of a husband.

Space will not permit a detailed analysis of the black families of a higher social and economic status which were included in our study. The analysis of the family background of a very successful and popular pure Negro professional man will enable us to see how blacks succeed in mounting the economic and social ladder. The paternal grandparents of our informant were free Africans. On his maternal side, his great-grandparents were Africans who were probably slaves but his grandparents were free. His father was a

²¹ See Nestor Duarte, *A Ordem Privada e A Organização Política Nacional*, 153, Rio de Janeiro, 1939.

²² This is a widespread custom among Brazilians and does not appear to have an African origin.

mechanic who, after living seven years "*maritalmente*" with our informant's mother, deserted her and married another woman. When our informant's mother was left with two boys to support, she worked as a dressmaker and endeavored to give them an education which would give them a superior position in the world. Unlike his brother, who cared little for education and was satisfied to become a mechanic like his father, our informant, evidently because of his great devotion to his mother, developed the ambition to enter a certain profession. However, he changed his ambition because he knew that a black man in this particular profession would find it difficult, and decided to enter another profession. In the professional school, he won honors and free tuition. During the ten years that he has followed his profession, he has been highly successful. So far as his beliefs and behavior are concerned, he is a Brazilian, but it is interesting to note that his mother still goes surreptitiously to a Candomblé, which fact she does not openly confess and is regarded with amused indulgence by her son who belongs to another world.

Our investigation of the family life of the blacks in Bahia leads us to some tentative conclusions which should be tested by further study in the same area and other sections of Brazil. Because of the racial mixture which has taken place on a large scale, African patterns of family life have tended to disappear. The dissolution of African family forms was accelerated by the break-up of the rural patriarchal society and the mobility of the population which brought about increased race mixture. Where the black family has assumed an institutional character, it has generally been among those elements in the black and near-black population which have assimilated Brazilian or Portuguese culture. Among the poorer classes clustered about the Candomblés, the family, often based upon a common-law relationship, tends to assume the character of a natural organization. Whatever has been preserved of African culture in the Candomblé has become a part of the folklore of the people and, so far as family relationships are concerned, there are no rigid, consistent patterns of behavior that can be traced to African culture. As Brazil becomes urbanized and industrialized and the mobility of the folk increases, the blacks will continue to merge with the general population.

* T
1 T
Austria
In 1
archy; i
the city
only 53.
percent
percent
2 Ire
3 Bef
4 Cf.
Gesetzgeb

SOME ASPECTS OF FERTILITY AND POPULATION GROWTH IN VIENNA*

ALEXANDER STEVENSON

University of California

Introduction. Few cities of Europe can look back upon a history so colorful, and at the same time so tragic, as Vienna.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the city was the hub of a sprawling, unstable empire of fifty millions, the metropolis in which centered all the social and economic life of the declining Hapsburg Monarchy. The first World War speeded the collapse of that tottering structure and the Treaty of St. Germain left Vienna the capital of an impoverished country of less than six and a half million souls, "the forlorn capital of an absurd political creation."¹ The decade that followed saw the courageous attempt of the Social Democratic City Council "to create for the people, shaken by a disastrous inflation, a new environment by institutional means,"² an effort which met with final defeat in the Civil War of February, 1934. Although considerable attention has been devoted to the political, economic, and social history of the Austrian capital, in recent years regarded by many as the weather vane of Europe, the demographic developments in the city in these years of rapid change are not widely known.

The Growth of Vienna. For various reasons, this investigation had been started in 1890. Prior to that year, the city was composed of ten districts, but in 1890 large areas were incorporated within its limits and the number of districts was increased to twenty. Another district was added in 1905 but this addition was not sufficient to change the face of the city significantly. Furthermore, the Industrial Revolution reached Vienna comparatively late and in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the city was undergoing all the changes of a more sordid nature characteristic of early industrialization—poverty, overcrowding, darkness, ill-health,³ and the growth of a large proletariat. Precisely in the districts incorporated in 1890, some of the worst slum conditions existed,⁴ so that the Vienna portrayed by the statistics of 1880 was a very different city from the Vienna of a decade later.

* The writer is indebted to Dorothy S. Thomas and Alexander Gershenkron for suggestions.

¹ *The Manchester Guardian Commercial*, "Reconstruction in Europe: The Population of Austria," 353, London, 1922-23.

In 1910 Vienna harbored 4 percent of the total population of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; in 1920 it made up 30 percent of the truncated Austrian Republic. The extent to which the city was deprived of its natural hinterland is shown by the fact that at the Census of 1923 only 53.9 percent of the inhabitants enumerated were born in Vienna. Of the rest, only 16.3 percent came from the provinces that were left to Austria after the Peace Treaty, while 29.8 percent had been born abroad.

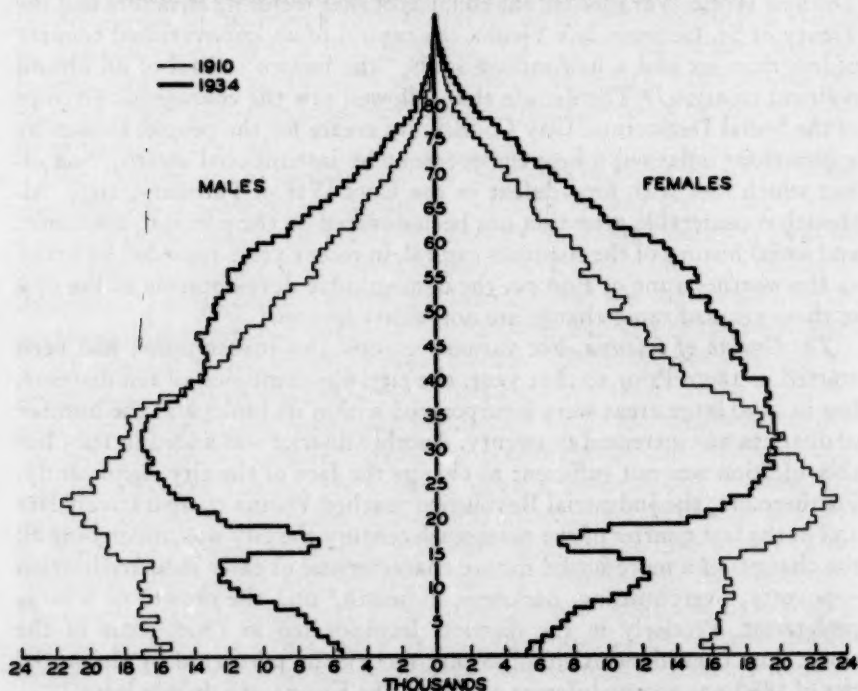
² Irene and Donald Grant, *Vienna, 1919-1934*.

³ Before the war, tuberculosis was commonly known in German as "die Wiener Krankheit."

⁴ Cf. Eugen von Philippovich, "Wiener Wohnungsverhältnisse," in *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik*, VII: 215-277, Berlin, 1894.

Between 1890 and 1910, the population of the city increased rapidly, though at a declining rate, from 1,364,548 to 2,031,421. The census of 1923, on the contrary, showed a sharp decline, amounting to 165,641, or 8.15 percent of the 1910 population, and the figure for 1934, 1,874,130, showed little change. When migration and natural increase are calculated separately,⁵ it is apparent that in the prewar period both contributed almost equally to the population increase, but that thereafter an increasing excess of deaths over births appeared, an excess which was, however, masked by a rather large balance of inward migration between 1923 and 1934.⁶

CHART I. POPULATION OF VIENNA BY SINGLE YEARS OF AGE AND SEX.



The absolute number of births, reaching its peak in the late nineties with about 52,000 live births, has since fallen steadily and steeply, except for a

⁵ An exact calculation of migration balances is impossible since only the 1934 Census enumerated the resident population. All earlier census figures refer to the factual population of the city.

⁶ The explanation of this drift to the city in a period of almost unrelieved depression may lie in the fact that Vienna was at this time under the administration of the Social Democratic City Council whose extensive programs of municipal housing, education, unemployment insurance, and other social services greatly improved the lot of the workers. Although unemployment remained high throughout the decade, the share of Vienna in the Austrian figures showed a downward trend. But had no barriers to international migration been erected in the earlier twenties, it is almost certain that the exodus from Vienna would have continued.

few years after the war of 1914-18, and totalled only 10,032 in 1937.⁷ Over the same period, the crude birth rate fell from 33.2 per 1000 inhabitants in 1891-95 to 24.5 in 1906-10 and 5.4 in 1937. The death rate also fell steadily from 23.9 per 1000 in 1891-95 to 17.5 in 1906-10 and 13.0 in 1937 and it is therefore clear that this was an important factor in the natural increase registered between 1890 and 1910. From these figures it follows that the excess of births over deaths of 9.3 per 1000 inhabitants in 1891-95 gave place to a deficit of 7.7 per 1000 in 1937.

Crude rates, however, take no account of changes in age distribution and sex ratio and are thus inadequate for accurate studies of fertility. Some idea of the type of distortion they introduce may be given by reference to the graphic representation of the age and sex structure of Vienna's population in 1910 and 1934 (Chart I). An absolute decline of 157,291 was registered in this period but in addition the population was getting rapidly older, for whereas in 1910 only 21.2 percent of the total were over 45 years old, by 1934 the figure had risen to 35.5 percent. In 1910, 24.7 percent of the population were children under 15 years; at the last census in 1934 the percentage was only 14.6. Over the same period, the sex ratio changed from 92.0 males per 100 females to 82.4 per 100.

Fertility Trends in Vienna: The City as a Whole. To measure accurately trends in fertility and replacement, reproduction rates of the type used by Kuczynski must be calculated. The gross reproduction rate, which measures fertility, shows the number of female children who will be born to a woman passing through the childbearing period, if specific fertility rates remain constant; the net reproduction rate, measuring replacement, shows to what extent a woman will replace herself in the next generation if specific fertility and mortality rates persist. For the computation of these rates, we must know the number of births occurring to women in different age groups and this information is seldom available for earlier periods. Where this is the case, however, substitute reproduction rates computed by a process of indirect standardization may be used. Any given set of specific fertility rates is applied to the female population of the period under consideration, the expected births calculated, and the total fertility obtained by adjusting the given total fertility by the ratio of expected to actual births. From the total fertility, the gross reproduction rate is computed in the usual manner. The net reproduction rate is found by applying the survival ratios to the terms of the equation and correcting as above.⁸ In the analysis which follows, the Swedish fertility rates for 1926-30 have been used. Trends in fertility and replacement in Vienna from 1890 to 1934 are shown in Table 1.

⁷ Figures up to 1926 are based upon the factual population; after that date, upon the resident population.

⁸ This method, suggested by Kuczynski, is fully described and analyzed by D. V. Glass, *Population Policies and Movements in Europe*, 387-93 Oxford, 1940.

TABLE 1. VIENNA: ESTIMATED REPRODUCTION RATES

Period	Total Fertility per 1000 Women	Gross Reproduction Rate (per woman)			Number of Years Lived by a Woman in the Childbearing Period	Net Reproduction Rate	Minimum G.R.R. Necessary to Maintain N.R.R. = 1	Minimum Number of Children Necessary to Maintain N.R.R. = 1
		Rate	Index 1889-91 = 100	Intercensal Change (Per cent)				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1889-91	3,615.6	1.769	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
1899-1901	3,268.7	1.593	90.1	- 9.9	(1895-1900) 19.554*	0.910	1.750	3.589
1909-11	2,276.6	1.100	62.2	-30.9	(1910-11) 23.194	0.742	1.482	3.033
1922-23	1,555.8	0.758	42.8	-31.1	(1922-23) 26.104	0.573	1.323	2.716
1933-34†	657.5	0.315	17.8	-58.4	(1933-34) 30.427	0.280	1.125	2.348

* The use of Austrian life table for 1895-1900 introduces an additional source of error.

† The birth data represent a weighted average of $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1933 and $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1934. The census took place on March 22, 1934. (Source of basic data, *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien*.)

Fertility, already declining throughout western and central Europe, was relatively low in Vienna even about 1890. Kuczynski has estimated that about 1895 the gross reproduction rate for Austria was between 2.4 and 2.8;⁹ in the capital, it must have been about 1.8. But what is most remarkable is the steepness and steadiness of the fall throughout the period under investigation. The very large immigration, mainly Slavic from rural areas of high fertility, may help to explain the slower fall from 1890 to 1900. In the first decade of this century, fertility declined fully 30 percent in Vienna; the war may account in part for the slight deviation between 1910 and 1923 but the effect of delayed marriages and consequent abnormally high post-war births was hardly sufficient to disturb the steady decline which continued up to the last census when fertility was only 17.8 percent of what it had been in 1890.

The decline in net reproduction rates, rather naturally, was less rapid, since decreasing mortality offset in some measure the decline in fertility,¹⁰ but even as early as 1900, the population was not replacing itself and the replacement rate, continuing its downward trend, reached 0.280 in 1933-34. That is to say, if the fertility and mortality rates then prevailing were to persist for a generation, 100 potential mothers would give birth to only 28 daughters and, if there were no migration, the population would eventually

⁹ R. R. Kuczynski, "The International Decline of Fertility," in *Political Arithmetic*, L. T. Hogben, ed., 60, New York, 1938. Presumably, Kuczynski's figure refers to the territory of old Austria, which included large agricultural regions such as Galicia, Dalmatia, Istria, Slovakia, Moravia, etc. This figure cannot therefore be compared with reproduction rates for the Austrian Republic.

¹⁰ Life tables were computed from Viennese mortality data for 1910-11, 1922-23, and 1933-34.

decline by 72 percent per generation. Since the gross reproduction rate is also far below unity, 0.315 in 1933-34, further reduction of mortality rates can affect the situation but little. At the mortality rates of 1933-34, a net reproduction rate of 1.125, representing, at the then existing sex ratio, 2.348 children, was necessary for adequate replacement. The effect of falling mortality rates is best shown in columns 6 and 9 of Table 1. In the period 1895-1900, the average number of years lived in the childbearing period was, according to the Austrian life table, about 19.5 years; by 1933-34, the average number of years lived in the reproductive period by a Viennese woman was over 30 years.¹¹ Since the physiological reproductive period is about 35 years, it is clear from this also that lower death rates can have but a limited effect on replacement trends. The effect of decreased mortality is also shown by the fact that whereas about 1900 the minimum number of children necessary to maintain adequate replacement was 3.589 for each woman, by 1933-34 the minimum number had dropped to 2.348.

We have seen that fertility has declined sharply and at the last census the fall was apparently continuing. We have also seen that further changes in specific mortality rates can have but a limited effect on replacement. It remains to investigate, as far as possible, the causes of the decline in fertility.

In a monogamous society, fertility is clearly related to marriage habits. The first question is, therefore, what effect have changing marriage habits had upon fertility? To test the effect of marriage frequency upon fertility and replacement, the census population of 1934 has been redistributed according to the marital conditions of previous census populations and the fertility rates for 1933-34 applied to these adjusted populations. Thus, standardized reproduction rates have been obtained which vary with changes in marital condition.¹² Application of the marital condition of 1890 to the population of 1934 yielded gross and net reproduction rates of 0.263 and 0.233 respectively.¹³ By comparing these rates with the actual rates for

¹¹ This relatively high figure is no doubt partly due to the low reproduction rates.

¹² It must be noted that standardization of this type shows the results of marriage habits in the past. To analyze the probability of marrying of a woman of a certain age at a given time, nuptiality tables would have to be constructed.

¹³

TABLE 2. SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES, 1933-34*

Age of Mother	Age classes					
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-49
Legitimate Live Births per 1000 Married Women	576.3	137.6	68.9	32.8	13.3	2.4
Illegitimate Live Births per 1000 Single, Widowed, Divorced, and "Unknown" Women	10.4	12.4	11.1	8.6	5.0	1.0

* See Table 1, above.

1933-34, 0.315 and 0.280 respectively, we see that the marital condition of the population in 1890 was less favorable to fertility than that of the 1934 population; in 1910, on the other hand, the marital condition of the population was just as favorable to reproduction as that of 1934.¹⁴ When we consider that in 1890-1901 the estimated gross reproduction rate was 1.769, and in 1909-11, the gross and net rates were 1.100 and 0.742, respectively, it becomes evident that the rapid decline in fertility observed has taken place within marriage.¹⁵

Examination of the specific fertility rates for 1933-34 yields interesting results.¹⁶ The legitimate fertility rate for the youngest age class is extremely high at 576.3 per 1000 married women of 15-19 years and thereafter the fall is exceptionally steep as we pass to the higher age classes. This would lead one to suspect that in a rather large number of cases children born to married women in the 15-19 age class were the result of premarital conception.

The illegitimate births are unusually evenly distributed among the different age classes, contrary to the situation in western Europe generally, where illegitimate births are commonly concentrated in the younger age classes. The population is largely Catholic, and this unusual distribution of illegitimate births may be partially attributable to the attitude of the Roman Church towards divorce. "*Lebensgefährtingen*" were common in Vienna. Illegitimacy has always been very high in Austria compared with most other countries of western and central Europe but the rates for Vienna are now lower than those for the country as a whole.¹⁷ There has, however, been a downward trend in the percentage of live births which were illegitimate.¹⁸ This percentage fell from 36.0 percent in 1894 to 20.7 percent in 1935. It is interesting to note that a sharp deviation from the trend occurred in the immediate postwar years. From 22.9 percent of all births in 1918, the share of illegitimate births fell to 12.4 percent in 1922 and thereafter rose to over 23 percent in the early thirties. From about 1933, however, a fall has set in again. Presumably, this deviation is to be attributed in part to the abnormal number of marriages contracted in the years just after the war of 1914-18.

The decline in marital fertility may be caused by factors of a physiological

¹⁴ Standardized gross and net reproduction rates for 1910 were 0.316 and 0.280 respectively.

¹⁵ Statistics of family size, published in the 1934 Census, *Tabellenheft Wien*, 158, show this very vividly.

¹⁶ See Table 2, footnote 13.

¹⁷ Illegitimate fertility rates were not calculated because adequate population figures could not be secured. Percentage figures are from *Bundesamt für Statistik, Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich*, and *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien*.

¹⁸ Winkler has shown on the basis of Austrian data for 1929-1934 that over 23 percent of the illegitimate children born were legitimized before they were seven years old. Wilhelm Winkler, "Eine Österreichische Abgangsordnung der unehelichen Geborenen," in *Congrès international de la population*, Paris, 1937; *Démographie Statistique*, V: 66-70, Paris, 1938.

nature resulting in sterility, or may result from a complex of factors which may be subsumed under the heading of "birth prevention." Little study has been made of physiological sterility and as yet no evidence for its increase has been brought forward. On the other hand, there is now no doubt that conscious efforts to restrict birth have been in large measure responsible for the international decline in fertility which has been in progress since the late 1870's. Such efforts center around induced abortion and contraception. It is almost impossible to measure the quantitative importance of the former with any degree of accuracy since statistical data on the frequency of abortion are practically nonexistent. There is, however, reason to believe that it is important.¹⁹ The fact that improved techniques of birth control and the progressive spread of knowledge of these contraceptive devices to all social classes were paralleled by a continuous decline in fertility throughout the western world is no mere coincidence. Conscious limitation of family size by contraceptive measures is certainly the most important causal factor in the general fall in reproduction rates and the case of Vienna can hardly be an exception.

Changes in Fertility in Vienna: The Registration Districts. It has been established that a steep decline in fertility has occurred in Vienna since 1890. The following questions must now be raised. Has the decline been evenly spread over all the city? And if it has varied from district to district, how have variations been related to social and economic status? Unfortunately, the published data on fertility in the individual districts of the city are very incomplete and it is possible to use only rather crude measures of fertility.

¹⁹ Cf. D. V. Glass, *Population Policies and Movements in Europe*, Oxford, 1940. Glass is of the opinion that at least part of the rise in German reproduction rates since the establishment of Nazi rule is attributable to more efficient police methods to combat the practice of abortion.

It is worth noting that the pronatalist policies of the Nazis since the Anschluss in 1938 have apparently had effects in Austria substantially similar to, though of even greater magnitude than, those seen in Germany since 1933. Cf. *Statistisches Reichsamt. Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 21 Jahrgang, N. F. 1, April Heft, 1941.

TABLE 3. AUSTRIAN MARRIAGE AND BIRTH RATES, 1938-40

Period	Per 1000 Inhabitants					
	Marriage Rates			Birth Rates		
	1938	1939	1940	1938	1939	1940
First quarter	6.8	18.7	16.1	14.9	19.8	24.7
Second quarter	11.9	17.2	12.5	13.9	20.1	21.9
Third quarter	13.2	15.9	8.9	13.2	21.2	21.0
Fourth quarter	22.2	18.9	9.3	15.2	22.4	19.4
Year	13.6	17.7	11.7	14.1	20.9	21.8

In an article published in 1938, Wilhelm Winkler,²⁰ using figures from the 1923 Census, divided the active population into independents, employees, and workers.²¹ He then distinguished between the proletarian districts, which for him were those containing a percentage of workers higher than the figure for the city as a whole, and the bourgeois districts, which con-

TABLE 4. BIRTH RATES IN VIENNA, BY SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS, 1899-1935

Districts in Order of Prole- tarization	Winkler's Cri- terion of Proletarianization (Percent of "Workers"* in Active Population)	Legitimate Live Births per 1000 Married Women Aged 15-44		Crude Birth Rates per 1000 Population		Percent Decline 1899-1901 to 1909-1911	Percent Decline 1910 to 1935
		1899-1901	1909-1911	1910	1935		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
XI	56.3	255.9	175.2	27.6	8.1	31.5	70.7
XVI	55.3	205.3	134.9	21.7	5.8	34.3	73.3
X	55.3	230.0	175.2	31.2	6.8	23.8	78.2
XIV	52.7	309.0	127.8	20.1	5.0	58.6	75.1
XXI	51.9	175.9	175.9	26.8	9.0		66.4
XII	51.4	214.9	136.5	21.3	5.6	36.5	73.7
XX	50.0	219.7†	152.1	26.6	6.9	30.8	74.1
XVII	49.4	200.8	127.8	19.5	5.9	36.4	69.7
XIII	47.9	204.0	119.8	18.9	5.6	41.3	70.4
XIX	44.8	202.5	156.3	24.9	5.7	22.8	77.1
XV	44.8	162.3	72.8	12.6	4.4	55.1	65.1
V	43.8	176.5	103.3	14.9	4.4	41.5	70.5
I	43.8	79.0	47.3	4.2	3.6	40.1	14.3
III	42.2	169.6	102.2	14.6	4.5	39.7	69.2
II	39.0	197.3	102.8	13.6	5.5	47.9	59.6
IX†	38.8	125.7	97.4	11.7	3.7	22.5	68.4
VI	38.3	139.5	77.7	9.2	5.0	44.3	45.7
XVIII	38.1	183.1	96.1	13.3	4.9	47.5	63.2
VII	37.6	128.1	71.9	8.8	4.0	43.9	54.5
IV	37.1	117.0	65.0	6.9	3.9	44.4	43.5
VIII	34.9	129.8	72.1	8.3	3.7	44.5	55.4

* Including overseers, apprentices, members of families assisting the head of the family on farms and in home industries.

† 1900-01.

‡ Excluding *Gebäranstalt*.

Sources: Col. 2, from Wilhelm Winkler, *op. cit.*; Cols. 3 and 4, *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien* (at the 1900 Census the group of childbearing age was taken as 15-45 years); Cols. 5 and 6, Wilhelm Winkler, *op. cit.*

tained a percentage of workers lower than that registered for the whole city. Such an "index of proletarianization" is, of course, open to criticism on vari-

²⁰ Wilhelm Winkler, "Die natürliche Bevölkerungsbewegung Wiens," in *Congrès international de la population*, Paris, 1937; *Démographie Statistique* III: 1-18, Paris, 1938.

²¹ This is the classification of the Austrian Census Bureau. "Independents" include all those of the active population who neither receive salaries nor wages; "Employees" include all those receiving salaries; "Workers" represent those receiving wage payments.

ous grounds. "Independents" include both the owner of a large store in the central shopping district, and the owner of a tiny shop in a working-class district, a man whose habits and outlook, economic, and social status are as proletarian as any worker's. Included under "employees" are high officials of banks and financial houses as well as the lowest white-collar worker. Sociological classification is one of the most difficult obstacles to overcome in studies of differential fertility and division according to area is extremely risky, but in an industrial city like Vienna, the districts are perhaps sufficiently clearly differentiated from a social and economic point of view to justify the use of this method.²² Since the character of the city has not changed significantly since the turn of the century, it may be accepted that working-class districts in 1923 were already proletarian by 1900.

In the censuses of 1900 and 1910, the female population in the reproductive age classes was tabulated according to civil status for each district of the city and it was possible to calculate a measure of fertility based upon the married women in the reproductive age classes.²³ For the period after 1910, no such detailed figures are available and we must content ourselves with crude birth rates, an obviously inaccurate index of fertility. These have been calculated by Winkler.²⁴

In Table 4 the districts of the city have been placed in descending order of "proletarianization" according to Winkler's classification. Districts IX and XIX and perhaps XX should be omitted from the comparison since the inclusion of births in hospitals distorts the earlier figures considerably and it should be remembered that District XIII is half bourgeois and half proletarian. District I, the center of the city, is also peculiar. Like most "downtown" districts, it has a small residential population, which is composed mainly of two types of people, those in the very highest income brackets, where fertility has long been very low, and a rather elderly class of workers, mainly concierges. There is also a strong Jewish element in the district.

From 1900 to 1935, a steep decline in fertility took place throughout the city, and at all times the highest rates were registered in the working-class districts,²⁵ but it is noticeable that in the period 1900-1910,²⁶ the steepest

²² In using this classification, therefore, we must bear in mind that in many of the districts containing a fairly high percentage of workers, a considerable number of "independents" and "employees" enjoy the same economic and social status as the workers proper, but in one district at least, this is not true. Hietzing (XIII) is divided into two parts by the Vienna River, and whereas the one side is distinctly upper middle class, the other is definitely proletarian. The division also takes no account of religious differences which may be of importance. Districts II and XX are largely Jewish.

²³ This was deemed preferable to a rate for all women in these age groups because at that time births in the large maternity hospital (*Gebäranstalt*) were registered separately, instead of according to the residence of the mother; about half the illegitimate births occurred in the maternity hospital whereas this is true only of a small percentage of legitimate births.

²⁴ Wilhelm Winkler, *op. cit.*, 4-5.

²⁵ In an early study, Bertillon showed that an inverse correlation between fertility and economic status existed around 1890. Cf. J. Bertillon, "La natalité selon le degré d'aisance, Etude

declines occurred in the bourgeois districts, while in the period 1910-1935, this situation was reversed and the relatively large percentage declines were concentrated in the proletarian districts. The decline in natality, apparently starting in the economically and socially more favored groups, has now penetrated to all classes²⁷ and a process of equalization of fertility rates throughout the city was thus apparently in progress.²⁸ This development is almost certainly to be attributed to the spread of conscious family restriction through all social groups—to the progressive "democratization" of birth control.

Conclusions. Analysis has shown that a steep decline in fertility occurred in Vienna between 1890 and 1935. Examination of fertility in the individual districts of the city, based upon data which are admittedly crude, led to the tentative conclusion that the steepest declines had in the most recent past been recorded in the proletarian districts and that therefore a tendency existed towards the equalization of fertility rates among different social groups. It was further established that the decline in natality had occurred within marriage; illegitimacy, always high in Vienna, did, however, decline somewhat in importance over the period of the investigation.

Recent changes in the economic and social structure of western nations have undoubtedly favored smaller families. The decline in fertility has been going on in western Europe for about seventy years, in central Europe for perhaps a slightly shorter period, and Vienna is but an extreme example of this general phenomenon. The only significant deviation from this downward trend has taken place in Nazi Germany, and apparently in the Nazi-occupied Sudetenland and Austria. But even in the German case, it is not yet clear whether the raising of reproduction rates under the Nazi regime is a permanent or only a temporary change and thus no inference can be drawn as to the effects of the Nazi population policies in Austria in general and in Vienna in particular. Now war has again radically altered the picture and it would be idle to speculate on the attitude of potential parents regarding desirable family size in the postwar period.

à ce point de vue, de Paris, Londres, Berlin et Vienne," in *Bulletin de l'institut international de statistique*, Part 2, XI: 163-176.

²⁶ In this period, high marital fertility usually coincided with a high percentage of women married within the reproductive age groups.

²⁷ By 1935, an excess of deaths over births was registered in every district of the city.

²⁸ This development has been observed in other European cities. Cf. J. Sanders, *The Declining Birth Rate in Rotterdam*, The Hague, 1931; and J. W. Innes, *Class Fertility Trends in England and Wales, 1876-1934*, Princeton, 1938.

I
ma
da
ico
ma
con
pos
wor
to m
T
non
liber
mov
of th
"hol
"Th
can
del M
treat
sure,
pend
Ar
and
haps
place
* P
1 V
New Y
has a
1928. M
the fan
Robert
1934; A
acan in
Valle d
an grou
edly wi
women
* M
* Se
Progres
sors has

NOTES ON THE CHANGING MEXICAN FAMILY*

NORMAN S. HAYNER

University of Washington

IN CONTRAST to the Pilgrim fathers of the United States, the Spanish *conquistadores* came without women. Marriage with them was "a seizure, not a courtship." The inferior role played by women in Spain was matched by their almost complete submission among the Aztecs. Aztec daughters were taught modesty, respect, and obedience. Even today, Mexico is a man's country. Señora Millan describes her own shock as an American married to a Mexican, when she realized that "in Mexico women are still considered inferior beings, unfit to manage their own lives or assume any position of responsibility."¹ There is, it is true, a great deal of respect for women as mothers, but not for women as companions. It is woman's place to make the home. If she works outside, it is usually from necessity.

There is a feminist movement in Mexico, but many men regard it as nonsense. The law of the statute books on domestic relations may be quite liberal but in practice the man still wields absolute power. A wife cannot move freely without her husband's consent. It is the psychological attitude of the husband that is important. If a wife is too independent, she does not "hold her man." In the words of a Mexican immigrant in Los Angeles, "Those American women control their husband and I nor any other Mexican won't stand for that."² Studies of agricultural areas, such as the *Valle del Mezquital* near Mexico City, show the women enslaved—victims of mistreatment and excessive work.³ The revolution brought legal divorce, to be sure, but few women have had either the courage or the economic independence to take advantage of it.

Among the wealthy, it is common for a man to have a conventional wife and family in a so-called *casa grande*, or big house, and a mistress with perhaps another family in a *casa chica*, or little house. One reason that the wife's place is in the home is so that she will not discover the mistress. The com-

* Presented to the American Sociological Society, Dec. 27, 1941, at New York City.

¹ Verna Carleton Millan, *Mexico Reborn*, chapter 7, "Freedom for Mexican Women," New York, 1939. No general study has yet been made of family life in Mexico. Ernest Gruening has a helpful chapter on "Women" in his 1928 book on *Mexico and Its Heritage*, New York, 1928. Many ethnological monographs on specific Indian groups include passages or chapters on the family. Among them are: Elsie Clews Parsons, *Mitla: Town of the Souls*, Chicago, 1936; Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa Rojas, *Chan Kom: A Maya Village*, Washington, D. C., 1934; *Los Tarascos*, ed. Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez and dedicated to the University of Michoacan in honor of the fourth centenary of its founding, Mexico City, 1940; and *La Población del Valle de Teotihuacán*, ed. Mexico City, 1922, Manuel Gamio. In some of the more isolated Indian groups family relations are largely determined by the aboriginal culture. Contrasting markedly with the rest of the country, for example, are the Tarahumaras of Chihuahua among whom women take the initiative in love making.

² Manuel Gamio, *The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story*, 46, Chicago, 1931.

³ See Manuel Gamio, "An Analysis of Social Processes and the Obstacles to Agricultural Progress in Mexico," *Rur. Sociol.*, 1937, 145. Population pressure plus a succession of oppressors has kept the great bulk of Mexican families on a very low economic level.

mon practice of employing men as clerks and stenographers in business offices also prevents wifely jealousy. The roles of wife and mistress are well illustrated in the following case from an interview with a hotel man:

The American girl who left this morning is a good example of the mistress problem in Mexico. The man who has been with her here is a general. He has five children, the oldest of whom is married. The youngest was having a party yesterday in celebration of her fifteenth birthday. This is quite an event in the best circles. The American girl wanted the general to stay last night but he had promised his daughter that he would attend her party and went back to his home in the city. The American girl wanted him to divorce his wife, but he explained that he had never compromised his marriage. She was always the perfect wife. He had nothing to hold against her. From Saturday noon until Sunday noon, he always spends with his family. There have, however, been no marital relations with his wife for ten years. He is crazy about the American girl—madly in love with her.

Men with mistresses do not like to be seen with their wives in public. "Everyone knows that the ravishing L. is the mistress of Senator Y., but what really interests people is where does the senator hide his wife?"⁴ Mothers more often devote themselves to the children, taking them to the parks and movies. This frequently leads to a mother fixation. The mother dotes on her son and pours on him her starved affection. The boy grows up to feel that the mother is his ideal of goodness and love. He looks for a substitute mother in his wife and acts toward her with certain inhibitions. With this attitude he develops the belief that there are two sorts of women—good and bad. The good woman is like his mother, proper for a wife and to be the mother of his children, but one with whom he must curb his sexual ardor. The bad woman is unlike his mother. With one of this type, he can be "natural" and have a good time. This establishes a vicious circle.

Mexico has a strong tradition favoring sex expression—for the male. At the same time, the Mexican is a very sensitive person. Centuries of oppression have developed in him a strong inferiority complex. Even men who are not potent, occasionally maintain mistresses. It is no doubt this philosophy of sex expression and the conviction that the custom keeps couples together, which permits well-behaved male prisoners to have conjugal visits.⁵

Among the stricter Catholic families, whether rich or poor, close chaperonage of young people is regarded as desirable. This makes the traditional courtship patterns very different from those in the United States. Although these old Spanish customs are met with infrequently in Mexico City, they still persist in Guadalajara, the second largest city, and to a greater extent in smaller centers such as Morelia. In the words of a male stenographer in Guadalajara, an American citizen of Mexican ancestry, who has tried the old Spanish method of courting:

⁴ Millan, *op. cit.*

⁵ See Norman S. Hayner, "Recent Observations of Mexican Prisons," *Proc. Amer. Prison Assn.*, 1941. For a series of ten photographs illustrating various aspects of a conjugal visit in the Federal Penitentiary at Mexico City see *Life*, October 27, 1941, 49-50.

You must see the girl in church. Then you may come to her house at night and give a peculiar whistle. If she likes you, she will open the curtain just a crack. After that you must come every night, standing outside always, even in the rain. You cannot take her swimming or to a dance or to a show. This custom of "playing the bear" still continues here, but it is breaking down.⁶

In smaller towns, the plaza (usually an attractive little park with a bandstand in the center and a broad sidewalk around the periphery) is an important center for contact between boys and girls of the middle classes. In Cuernavaca, for example, the band plays every Thursday and Sunday evening, weather permitting. Facing each other as they pass, men and boys march one way around the plaza and women and girls the other. The girls dress for this more than the boys and always walk in groups. The older people keep a watchful eye from the benches. Occasionally, a couple pairs off for the promenade. Increasingly, however, young people meet at dances, picnics, and other social events. Although the young man ordinarily obtains family approval, actual choice of a husband by the girl's family is not as common now as formerly. In his study of Arandas, a community east of Guadalajara, Paul S. Taylor concludes that "the custom of arrangement of marriages by parents, which held sway a half century ago has given way to choice by the participants, usually with, but occasionally against the consent of the parents."⁷

In general, as would be expected, change is more rapid in the cities than in the towns or villages. In *Folk Culture of Yucatan*, a recent careful study of four communities, Robert Redfield shows the increasing strength of family traditions and controls as one moves southeast from the "Spanish-modern" city of Merida toward "the more Indian and rustic hinterland." The tribal Indian of Quintano Roo has less to say about selecting his wife, must show more respect for his parents-in-law and his *compadres*, or godparents, and is less free to break up his marriage, than are people nearer to Merida.

A similar contrast in the strength of family organization probably exists between the cities and their hinterland villages in other parts of Mexico. Attention is centered in this paper, however, on the middle and upper class marriage and family patterns in Mexico City and in certain towns of its plateau hinterland. Although some data are included on the marriage mores of the rural Tepoztecan, further effort is needed to obtain an adequate "family portrait" of the urban masses.

Such change as there is, seems to be largely a product of three influences: (1) industrialization, (2) the opening of new paved highways, and (3) the popularity of American movies. Although Mexico is primarily concerned with agriculture and handicrafts and will probably never be an industrial

⁶ See Emma Lindsay Squier, *Gringa*, 128-129, New York, 1934, for a more detailed description of the old-fashioned courtship ways.

⁷ Paul S. Taylor, "A Spanish-Mexican Peasant Community: Arandas in Jalisco, Mexico," *Ibero-Americana*, 4, Berkeley, 1933.

country like the United States, the amount of construction activity in the capital city, including new factories and extensive street improvements, is sufficient to indicate a trend toward industrialization. To be specific, a large new rayon plant employs girls aged sixteen to eighteen and pays them six pesos a day when the minimum wage is two and a half pesos. Even though unmarried, these girls sometimes take advantage of their right to a 40-day maternity leave with pay each year.⁸

The length of railway lines in operation has actually decreased in Mexico during the past decade but the paved highway mileage has substantially increased. The Pan-American highway was opened to traffic nine years ago (1932) and the Mexico City-Guadalajara highway only two years ago. The increasing stream of tourists flowing south from Laredo, Texas (the writer identified licenses from all but five states), has brought forth a series of service stations, auto courts, restaurants, and hotels with all the latest mechanical gadgets. Towns and villages along the 763 miles from Laredo to the capital are already notoriously more Americanized than places a donkey-back ride into the interior. There are farms with windmills, homes with electric lights and radios, boys on bicycles and girls wearing shoes.⁹ The 434-mile route from Mexico City to Guadalajara is newer, less frequented by tourists, and shows less change.

Moving picture theaters in all the important centers feature American sound films with English dialogue supplemented with written explanations in Spanish. The contribution of Hollywood toward changes in husband-wife and parent-child relations is probably considerable.¹⁰

In the summer of 1941, the writer interviewed social workers, anthropologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, lawyers, teachers, physicians, and hotel men in the capital and its environs. The most helpful source of information on the family was Enelda G. Fox, head of the social services of the Mexico City Child Welfare Association, and mother of four attractive daughters. Born in Mexico of European ancestry, she later earned a Ph.D. in psychology from the University of London. In addition to many courtesies extended to the writer and his family in Mexico, Dr. Fox has been kind enough to write for this article a detailed statement on Mexican family behavior. It seems wise to quote some of the more pertinent sections.

On Sunday, a typical upper class family in the provinces, in towns like Guanajuato and Orizaba, will go to mass either all together or in age groups. For the adolescent and young adult group, the favorite time is 11:00 or 12:00. The young fellows line up outside the church to see the girls. They try to pass notes secretly to the girls they like as the young ladies come out of church. This is often the beginning of a secret courtship.

⁸ See *Time*, June 23, 1941, 83.

⁹ For a vivid picture of the changes along this highway during an eight-year period see Michael Scully, "Rolling Down to Panama," *The Rotarian*, September 1941, 33-34.

¹⁰ In Arandas, for example, Taylor reports "marked changes" in the dress and custom of young women. "This is to be attributed less to emigration," he explains, "than to movies, book and newspaper advertising, merchants, visits to Guadalajara, etc., through which styles and customs elsewhere become known" (page 166).

After changing into gayer clothes, the parents and older adolescents go to the Casino until lunch time—2:00 or 2:30 p.m. In the Casino, the men gamble and drink at their poker, dominoes, and cards; the married women gossip in groups; and the young unmarried people dance. For girls of marriageable age, this is one of the few opportunities to talk privately with their boy friends. Even so, mother watches over them suspiciously. The conversation is usually based on flattery and sentimentality, mixed in some cases with a coy school-girlish sense of humor. The attitude is never one of frank companionship.

Within the last five years or so, a Country Club is slowly replacing the Casino and young folk can swim and play tennis there, but most Mexican families still refuse to allow their daughters to be seen in a bathing costume where there are men.

Married women neither drink, gamble, nor dance, but this custom is beginning to relax. Mexican men go so far as to say that all that Mexican women have learned from the U.S.A. is to drink cocktails, play cards, and gamble.

Unless discovered by disapproving parents, young men who are courting speak to their sweethearts from the street under the balcony, after dark until about 10:00 or 11:00 p.m. Serenades are usually between 2:00 and 3:00 a.m. and often follow a night at the Casino or in a billiard saloon.

Few girls have any education higher than sixth grade primary in a convent-type school. After this, they have home lessons in music, painting, recitations, language, and so on. Only within the last five years or so have girls of this class had any higher education in secondary schools, universities, or commercial schools. Those that have insisted on more than primary education have met with strong opposition from the family. The upper class Mexican looks down on women who take up a profession or a business.

The Mexican woman must dedicate herself entirely to house, husband, children, and church but she has no efficient preparation for these duties and so leaves the real work to the servants, who are untrained, overworked, and careless. The children are particularly ill-cared for. The mother has no notion of modern nutritional methods or child hygiene and even less of child psychology. Affection, in the form of cuddling and kisses, is showered on the child, but little time is spent in reading him a suitable book or showing an interest in his interests.

If an unmarried girl of this upper social class has an illegitimate child, the matter is concealed and the child sent to an orphanage. Otherwise, the girl becomes an outcast to the extent that no other girl or woman may even recognize her. On the other hand, a girl of the middle class who has an illegitimate child usually keeps it and is not cast out of her family and circle of friends on that account.

The middle class in the provincial towns is more progressive in respect to education. Even comparatively speaking, there are many more university and commercial school students from this group than from the upper class. There is also less prejudice against women acquiring a higher education and working. There is scarcely any professional field into which the women of this group have not entered. Except as employees or in a very small trade of their own, they have entered to a less extent into commerce or business. This is probably due to their lack of adequate capital. Since the middle class girl, who is driven to study for economic reasons, has more knowledge and experience than the more sheltered girl, there is the chance that when she marries she may become less of a bore to her husband and so keep her home intact and her children's minds healthier and more normal.

Shifting now from the middle and upper class family behavior of the hinterland towns to the family attitudes of the rural masses in the agricultural village, let us take Tepoztlán, in the state of Morelos 55 miles south and east of the metropolis, as an example. The 3500 or more in-

habitants of this beautiful mountain village are essentially Indian by race but Indian-Spanish in culture. Practically everyone speaks both Spanish and Nahuatl, a language similar to that used by the ancient Aztecs. The community is older than Mexico City, which was founded in 1325. Houses are of adobe with tile roofs. Most of the kitchen furnishings are pre-Columbian in origin. Among these is the widely used *metate*, or grinding stone.

About half of the boys marry before they are twenty; about half of the girls before they are fifteen. Living together as man and wife without legal registration is frequent. The civil ceremony is the only legal one in Mexico, but most persons also wish a church wedding. The minimum cost for these two services in nearby Cuernavaca is twenty-seven pesos (\$5.56), a great deal of money to simple peasants.¹¹ The *compadre*, or godparent, relationship, which is closer than that of an intimate friend, is still common in Tepoztlán. Women continue to be very humble, and children unusually obedient. In general, Tepoztecan families are large and united. This integration is especially true of the relationship between siblings. A reliable but unchecked source estimates, however, that between 20 and 25 percent of the men have more than one "wife." One *brujo*, or "wizard," has nine, but this is extreme. Many have three or four. It is interesting that there are few children from these illicit relationships and that the incidence of venereal disease is low. In some cases, the husband permits his wife's adultery.

Since Robert Redfield spent eight months of 1926 and 1927 in this village, publishing his findings in *Tepoztlán: A Mexican Village*, it is possible to indicate some of the changes that have occurred during the fourteen years. Perhaps the only development in recent years that could be described as industrialization is the use of a gasoline engine for grinding corn. Every morning, after their corn has been properly soaked in lime water, women and girls bring it to the *molino*, or mill, to be ground. In the past, according to Redfield, a woman averaged six hours a day grinding corn on the *metate*. The laborious character of the old method, together with the very reasonable price of one centavo for grinding a liter of corn with the machine, probably accounts for this change in the material culture of the family.

The most significant recent transportation change was the completion in 1936 of a paved highway from Cuernavaca, sixteen miles away. This new *carretera* has an obvious effect on the small boys of the community. Tourists drive into the plaza to be greeted by *muchachos* who jump on the running board and vie with each other in selling their services as guides to the great central church or to the Aztec pyramid high on the mountain north of the village. Traffic cops may occasionally be seen at the plaza, surrounded by admiring urchins. The most astounding innovation noted by the writer was a Bayer tonic sound-truck moving cautiously over the rough cobblestone

¹¹ In the *Valle de Teotihuacán* north of Mexico City, an area studied by Gamio, the cost of the religious ceremony alone was from eight to thirty pesos. Civil marriage by itself was not usually acceptable in these pueblos. The frequency of illegitimate unions was very great—"La razón fundamental es económica" (vol. 3, page 248).

streets, where, until six years ago, no wheels had passed. Twenty-seven boys followed the truck which finally halted near the largest room in the 800-pupil rural school and put on a sound movie featuring Popeye and his spinach! The older persons in the audience laughed, but the youngsters were serious. It was new and unusual to them. The roles played by these boys in their family groups are bound to be changed by these experiences.

Señor Vicente Campos, principal of this progressive school, estimates that fifty newspapers are delivered daily in Tepoztlán—evidence of the spreading influence of the city. A year ago the dirt-floored windowless post office acquired a telephone. There is, however, only one small private electric plant in the community and but one radio.

On December 1, 1940, one and a half miles from the plaza and just beyond the encircling *milpas*, or cornfields, of this farming village, under the sponsorship and using the camp buildings of the Mexico City Y.M.C.A., a rural health clinic was established. It is the policy of the Medical School of the National University of Mexico to require their students to spend six months in a rural section studying social as well as health problems. Dr. Aleántara Carbajal satisfied this requirement by working in the Tepoztlán clinic, but he has become so much interested in the community that he has decided to stay. During the first seven months of his work here, the doctor helped with no deliveries; during the next month he assisted with five. The native "wizards" object to modern medicine and the people respect them. About 150 of the more than 1000 mothers with small children in the Tepoztecan valley are now coming to the clinic, however. As the resistance to scientific methods in this field become lower, the high infant and maternal mortality rates will no doubt decline.

Although these dramatic developments have not as yet greatly weakened the family traditions and controls in this conservative rural community, they mark the beginnings of a closer contact with the larger world which may gradually produce profound changes in Tepoztecan domestic relations.

Turning now to Mexico City, which has since 1910 more than doubled in size, we find a metropolis with a population of 1,300,000. The business center has in recent years moved westward from the *Zócalo*, where it had been located since Aztec times, toward the Alameda. Fine old homes along the Paseo de la Reforma, even farther west and south, are being invaded by commercial interests. Seven areas, which contribute more than their share of delinquents to the Juvenile Court, form a roughly circular pattern around the center. Visits to some of these slums showed excessive overcrowding and a gross lack of proper sanitation but did not reveal basic family attitudes. Streets were covered with filth, garbage, and scummy water. The writer's party was greeted by howling dogs, fly-infested pigs, and friendly but dirty people. It is not difficult to understand that a study of 500 children coming to the Juvenile Court from such districts showed 90 percent undernourished and diseased.

It is only fair to add that the same city has large communities of comfortable modern homes. This is especially true to the west and southwest of the center. Prior to the revolution of 1910-20, these better homes were largely Spanish or French in architecture, but since that time there has been a great deal of American influence. In Chapultepec Heights, for example, many of the houses have the garden outside rather than shut off from the street in an inner patio. In fact, many of the newer *colonias*, both in their California style bungalows and in their advertising, remind one of real estate developments in the United States. In areas of this type, and in the apartment house districts, are many women much influenced by American habits.

It is obvious that most of this rapid population growth has come about by migration from the hinterland rather than by natural increase. The transition from village to city has commonly been associated with changes in behavior. Maids from the smaller centers, for example, are often more satisfactory than those who have been in the city for some time. After a few months, they begin to go to movies, have sweethearts and dates, and demand more pay. In rural communities and small towns, lower class parents are strict with their unmarried girls, but in the city, control is more difficult. It is often not long before the girls find themselves with babies.

Some of the problems presented to social workers by these migrants are dramatic in character. A mother with two children came into a station on a train and refused to leave. Her husband had only sufficient money to buy tickets to the city for his wife and children. He was *walking*. He told his wife to wait at the station for him. A special arrangement was made so that the little family could sleep in the station during the week that elapsed before the husband arrived.

Many a man on coming to the city breaks away from the code of his native village and becomes a violent individualist. The length of time such a man stays with a woman is based on his own personal desires. This is especially true of the lower class *mestizo*. The chief problem in helping cases at the *Asistencia-Infantil*, or Child Welfare, is the irresponsibility of fathers who abandon their wives and small children. This antisocial conduct is rarely noticed or criticized by friends and companions. Legal marriage with these wife deserters is more the exception than the rule. Not only are the abandoned mothers unprepared to earn their own living, they also need to learn how to care for their children. Mexican women pride themselves on being good mothers but this often means affection rather than knowledge.

In conclusion, Mexico has a strong family tradition. The family is regarded as the fundamental institution. Anything that tends to destroy the basic pattern of domestic relationships meets with opposition. This is more true in the rural districts and small towns than in the cities. Under the influence of factors such as those outlined above, however, together with the great recent expansion in public education, new problems will be created;

but in spite of these difficulties, Mexican marriage and family life will surely become less fascist and more democratic.

COMMENT

ROBERT REDFIELD

University of Chicago

Four principal elements compose this paper. There is a statement as to certain features of upper class Mexican life which have to do with or affect the family: the subordination and domestication of women; the keeping of mistresses; the chaperonage of unmarried girls. This statement is sound if not novel. A second element is the quotation from a social worker describing family behavior of the same class in a provincial Mexican city. This information is similar to that given directly by Professor Hayner. In the third place, there are some notes on recent changes in the large village of Tepoztlán, where dwell Indian-white peasants notably different from the urban upper class. Fourth, there are a few notes on recent changes in Mexico City.

The paper extends a wide invitation to the study of the subject announced in its title. Many of the observations as to social change reported from either the city or the village have little or nothing to do with the family. Observations reported which do concern the family in some way in the village mentioned are two: increasing use is made of machine power to grind corn for the tortillas; a small minority of mothers with young children now attend a modern clinic. The implicit invitation here is to find out what changes occur in family life because some women now need spend less time at the metate, and to learn what induces women to come to the clinic and what changes in family life follow from dependence on the clinic. Perhaps, for example, growing distrust of native healers, stimulated by the clinic, is a factor contributing to both community and family disorganization. It might be looked into.

With reference to the city, there are brief statements that country girls who have lived some time in the capital are not satisfactory as domestic help and frequently become pregnant without getting married. It is also asserted that whatever changes there may turn out to be in middle and upper class family life, industrialization, new roads, and American movies are influential factors. No doubt Dr. Hayner correctly calls attention to these areas of possible investigation. One might, for example, make a study of families in which one or more female members have for the first time found factory employment. The mere quantitative extent of industrial employment of women in Mexico is not known.

In Mexico, it is essential to distinguish the rural part-Indian village dweller from the city man in defining any problem of study, to distinguish within the city among the social classes, and to recognize the great local differences as to social organization in rural Indian Mexico. In general, change in the family will probably be found to be greatest in the middle class of the city. The isolated peasant on the one hand and the conservative upper-class families on the other retain longest a strong family organization. Within any one of these local, or status- and culture-groups, study might be made of changes in family life in terms of a number of special questions. These questions should be based on preliminary knowledge of the culture of the chosen group. Two out of hundreds of such special questions may be mentioned in illustration: the declining influence of the large-family, or kindred, in the arranging of marriages; the diminution of the religious sanction upon familial behavior. Professor Hayner's paper strongly suggests the need to define the groups studied and the question asked of the facts in that group before carrying out research in the area to which his paper calls us.

SOME FACTORS IN FAMILY FERTILITY AMONG SELECTED WISCONSIN FARMERS

GEORGE W. HILL AND HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN

University of Wisconsin Brigham Young University

THE LITERATURE of the social sciences abounds with general propositions regarding the relation of income or economic status to human fertility. In our studies of rural families in Wisconsin, we have found that the general relationship holds within broad economic categories.¹ However, in problems of social welfare and agricultural extension, it is necessary to work quite largely on a community basis, and here we have found the general statement of little value. It has been evident that factors other than income influence fertility. Hence, the present study to discover these other determinants.

In casting about for these other factors, we felt that in nationality and religion were two controls that would help explain the variances in fertility. Furthermore, they were cultural items which could be identified and classified as accurately and objectively as could the economic. In order to test the relative influences of these items with as little outside interference as possible, the study was restricted to farm owners located in two widely separated areas of Wisconsin. The areas selected were within the framework of culture-types, so chosen as to allow the three independent variables the greatest probability of occurrence.² Field work in the study was done during the summer of 1940.³

Economic Status and Fertility. The data of Table 1 show the relationship between economic status and fertility; the data are further classified by both nationality and religion for purposes of control. The following observations seem significant. 1. For the total sample, economic status makes no difference in the average number of children per family. German Catholics show a larger actual family size on the high economic level, German Luther-

¹ George W. Hill and Ronald A. Smith, *Rural Relief Trends in Wisconsin, 1934-1937*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1939; also, by the same authors, *Man in the "Cut-Over," A Study of Family-Farm Resources in Northern Wisconsin*, Wis. Agric., Exp. Sta. Res. Bull. 139, April, 1941.

² The general theory underlying this method is stated in George W. Hill's "The Use of the Culture-Area Concept in Social Research," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, July 1941, 39-47.

³ On the basis of our culture-type selection and certain census data, Price and Taylor Counties were selected in northern Wisconsin for families of low economic status, and Dane County was selected in southern Wisconsin for families of high economic status. Schedules were completed in each of these areas for 40 German Catholic, 40 German Lutheran, and 40 Scandinavian (about equally divided between Swedish and Norwegian) Lutheran families, making 240 in all. The sample was drawn to represent certain culture types and not the farm population in general. Fertility, reported here, is only one of the behavior patterns investigated in the larger study. For a description of the complete survey, see Harold T. Christensen, *Population Pressure Among Wisconsin Farmers*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1941. Only 107 of the 240 families studied were "complete" in the sense that they were unlikely to bear more children and that the data supplied were sufficient and appropriate for the analysis of fertility.

FAMILY FERTILITY AMONG WISCONSIN FARMERS 499

ans on the low economic level, and Scandinavian Lutherans are the same on both levels. 2. With the exception of Scandinavian Lutherans, the average number of children desired is smaller in the more well-to-do families, an inverse relationship suggesting a greater sophistication and change of attitude regarding family size on the higher economic levels. 3. Smaller families than the present ones are desired by all groups on both economic levels; but the percentage of difference between actual and desired number of children and the percentage of parents desiring fewer children are both greater in the high status area, a fact supporting the suggestion of greater sophistication there. The only exceptions to this last generalization are the Scandinavian Lutherans on the percentage of difference between actual and desired number of children, and the German Lutherans on both percentages. The case of the German Lutherans suggests that actual family size is a factor in the desire to decrease family size, a point to be discussed below.

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMIC STATUS AND FERTILITY; BASED UPON 107 COMPLETED FAMILIES¹

Classification of Economic Status by Nationality and Religion ²	Total Families	Average Number Children per Family ³	Average Number Children Desired	Percent Difference between Actual and Desired Number	Percent of Parents Desiring Fewer Children than Actual Number
<i>German Catholic</i>					
Low Status Area	17	6.4	5.1	-19.7	58.8
High Status Area	12	9.4	3.9	-58.8	100.0
<i>German Lutheran</i>					
Low Status Area	17	6.5	4.0	-38.3	76.5
High Status Area	18	4.7	3.9	-16.7	55.6
<i>Scandinavian Lutheran</i>					
Low Status Area	22	5.0	3.8	-24.1	50.0
High Status Area	21	5.0	3.9	-22.6	52.4
<i>Total</i>					
Low Status Area	56	5.9	4.3	-27.4	60.7
High Status Area	51	5.9	3.9	-34.5	64.7
Grand Total	107	5.9	4.1	-30.8	62.6

¹ Only the following families were included: (a) those in which the wife was 45 years of age or older, or one of the parents was dead; (b) those in which one or both parents were present at the interview; (c) those that had children either living or dead; and (d) those that responded to the question on desired number of children.

² Dane County was taken as the high and Price and Taylor Counties as the low income areas of this study.

³ Including those both living and dead.

Support for the contention that desire for children is reduced with a rise in economic status is found in the rationalizations of the farmers. In each interview, the question on desired number of children was followed by the

question, "Why do you not desire more than this?", and answers were then classified by economic and noneconomic reasons. Ninety-one and one tenth percent of all completed families gave income as their reason for not desiring more children than their stated number; 95.1 percent of those in the high status area responded in this way as compared with 87.5 percent of those in the low status area. Apparently not only is inadequate income a major reason for desiring smaller families, but those with the most income express this feeling of inadequacy most frequently. High economic status, instead of increasing the desire for children, apparently raises the subjective standard of living and brings about greater sophistication resulting in the reduction of family size as one means for realizing this higher standard.

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIONALITY AND FERTILITY; BASED UPON 78 COMPLETED FAMILIES OF LUTHERAN BACKGROUND¹

Classification of Nationality by Economic Status	Total Families	Average Number Children per Family	Average Number Children Desired	Percent Difference between Actual and Desired Number	Percent of Parents Desiring Fewer Children than Actual Number
<i>Low Status Area</i>					
German	17	6.5	4.0	-38.3	76.5
Scandinavian	22	5.0	3.8	-24.1	50.0
<i>High Status Area</i>					
German	18	4.7	3.9	-16.7	55.6
Scandinavian	21	5.0	3.9	-22.6	52.4
<i>Total</i>					
German	35	5.6	4.0	-29.0	65.7
Scandinavian	43	5.0	3.8	-23.4	51.2
Grand Total	78	5.3	3.9	-26.0	57.7

¹ Definitions are the same as those in Table 1 above. In order to hold the religion factor constant, only Lutheran families are considered in this table.

Nationality and Fertility. The relationship between nationality and fertility is analyzed for the German and Scandinavian groups in Table 2. Religion is controlled by considering only Lutheran (no distinctions were made between different Lutheran groups) families, and the economic status factor is controlled through classification in the table. 1. It will be observed that while German families are larger on the average than Scandinavian, this is not true on the high status level; income apparently affected family size earlier among the Germans than among the Scandinavians. 2. Desired family size is also greater among the German farmers, but here too this holds only for those of low income. The influence of nationality on family size has apparently vanished among the more well-to-do, for desired family size here is the same for both groups. 3. With one exception, both the percentage of difference between actual and desired family size and the percent-

FAMILY FERTILITY AMONG WISCONSIN FARMERS 501

age of parents desiring fewer children are greater for the Germans than the Scandinavians. Differences between these two nationality groups are not as great in desired fertility as in actual fertility; although Germans have larger families and also desire larger ones, the percentage of difference between practice and desire is greater with them. The tendency is toward a convergence in desire.

Religion and Fertility. Table 3 is designed to show the relationship between religion and fertility by comparing Catholic and Lutheran families.

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGION AND FERTILITY; BASED UPON 64 COMPLETED FAMILIES OF GERMAN BACKGROUND¹

Classification of Religion by Economic Status	Total Families	Average Number Children per Family	Average Number Children Desired	Percent Difference between Actual and Desired Number	Percent of Parents Desiring Fewer Children than Actual Number
<i>Low Status Area</i>					
Catholic	17	6.4	5.1	-19.7	58.8
Lutheran	17	6.5	4.0	-38.3	76.5
<i>High Status Area</i>					
Catholic	12	9.4	3.9	-58.8	100.0
Lutheran	18	4.7	3.9	-16.7	55.6
<i>Total</i>					
Catholic	29	7.7	4.6	-39.6	75.9
Lutheran	35	5.6	4.0	-29.0	65.7
Grand Total	64	6.5	4.3	-34.7	70.3

¹ Definitions are the same as those in Table 1 above. In order to hold the nationality factor constant, only German families are considered in this table.

For purposes of factor control, only German families are considered and the data are then distributed by economic status. Major observations may be summarized as follows. 1. With a very slight exception in the low status area, Catholic families are larger than Lutheran. 2. Catholics as a whole desire larger families than Lutherans, but on the upper status level desired family size is the same. Religion, as well as nationality, is apparently giving way to the influence of income on the higher economic level. 3. And here, too, the tendency is toward a convergence of desire regarding family size.⁴ The percentage of difference between actual and desired number of

⁴ Cf. Paul C. Glick, "The Effects of the Depression on Wisconsin's Birth Rates," 219, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1938; Samuel A. Stouffer, "Trends in the Fertility of Catholics and Non-Catholics," *Amer. J. Sociology*, 41: 143-166; Walter L. Slocum, "Ethnic Stocks as Culture Types in Rural Wisconsin," 60-62, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1940; and Rockwell C. Smith, "Church Affiliation as Social Differentiator Among Wisconsin Rural People," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1942. Both Glick and Stouffer found Catholic fertility to be higher than non-Catholic, and the rate of decrease in fertility to be greater with Catholics than with non-Catholics. This is in essen-

children and the percentage of parents desiring fewer children are both greater for Catholics than Lutherans, which means that fertility differences are not as great regarding desired children as they are regarding actual children. The exception to this is families in the low status area, where Catholics are the most resistant to change.

The influences of economic status, nationality, and religion upon actual and desired family size have now been examined, with the discovery that they all play a part but that economic status tends to supersede the other two among the well-to-do. There remains the testing of the possible effect of actual family size upon desired family size.

Actual and Desired Family Size. Tables 1, 2, and 3 all suggest that the largest families have the greatest differences between actual and desired family size; that the weight of sheer numbers, in other words, is sufficient to reduce desires regarding numbers. Table 4 presents fertility data arranged by family size and classified by economic status, thereby permitting a more

TABLE 4. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACTUAL AND DESIRED FAMILY SIZE;
BASED UPON 107 COMPLETED FAMILIES¹

Number of Children in Family, Classified by Economic Status	Total Families	Average Number Children per Family	Average Number Children Desired	Percent Difference between Actual and Desired Number	Percent of Parents Desiring Fewer Children than Actual Number
<i>Low Status Area</i>					
1 to 3 Children	11	2.5	3.9	+59.3	9.1
4 to 6 Children	24	4.9	4.1	-16.5	50.0
7 to 9 Children	15	7.9	4.5	-43.7	100.0
10+ Children	6	11.0	5.1	-53.0	100.0
<i>High Status Area</i>					
1 to 3 Children	14	2.2	4.0	+79.0	0.0
4 to 6 Children	15	4.7	3.5	-25.7	73.3
7 to 9 Children	13	8.0	3.9	-51.0	100.0
10+ Children	9	10.9	4.3	-60.2	100.0
<i>Total</i>					
1 to 3 Children	25	2.3	3.9	+69.8	4.0
4 to 6 Children	39	4.8	3.9	-19.9	59.0
7 to 9 Children	28	8.0	4.2	-47.1	100.0
10+ Children	15	10.9	4.7	-57.3	100.0
Grand Total	107	5.9	4.1	-30.8	62.6

¹ Definitions are the same as those in Table 1 above.

tial agreement with our findings regarding actual and desired family size. Slocum and Smith also found Catholic fertility to be well above that of other religious groups today, but suggest that it is remaining high. This apparent contradiction regarding the trend in Catholic fertility is likely not real; our data seem to show that, although religion is losing its influence upon differential fertility among the well-to-do, it is maintaining it on the lower economic levels.

detailed analysis of this assumption.⁵ Several pertinent facts will be readily noted. 1. Families with from one to three children desire more children. 2. With only two exceptions, in the item of average number of children desired, the number increases as one goes from the small to the larger families. 3. In all cases, the larger the family today the greater the percentage by which the desired family is smaller and the greater the percentage of parents who desire smaller families. It is evident, therefore, that actual family size is a real factor in influencing the size of family desired. Parents with disproportionately large families still desire families that are larger than the average, but larger by a smaller margin than today; their desires point toward a convergence in fertility differentials.

Changing Patterns in Fertility. Although the sample data do not lend themselves to comparisons between generations, they are suggestive of changes in the attitudes or covert patterns of the generation studied. Each farmer interviewed was asked the following hypothetical question: "If you were starting out again as a young person today, about how many children would you desire or plan for?" Sometimes this question would be supplemented with, "About what size of a family do you think is ideal under present conditions?", or "About how many children do you think your children should have today?" before an answer was obtained; but at the conclusion of the interviews, replies to this question were received for over 91 percent of all farmers. Replies to a question so hypothetical are admittedly inaccurate, but when compared to actual family size they are at least suggestive of the persistence or change of attitude as the case may be.

It will be observed from Table 1 that 62.6 percent of the sample farmers would plan for smaller families than they now have if they were starting over again today, and that all families are desired smaller by an average of 30.8 percent. The average number of children in present families of the sample is 5.9, compared with an average desired number of 4.1, a difference of 1.8 children. The discrepancy between actual and desired family size is clear: farmers are apparently changing their attitudes in the direction of smaller families.

The extent to which changes in the covert pattern for family size are carrying over into the overt patterns of the younger generation, and vice versa, is beyond the scope of this study; but we venture the opinion that the relationship is close. Attitudes are said to precede actions, and yet declining fertility in most groups is a well accepted fact. In the present study we find that the average number of children per family is 5.6 where the average age of parents is under 55 years, as compared with 6.1 where the average age of parents is 55 years or over, a likely indication of changing overt patterns in family size during the productive span of present-day

⁵ Numbers are too small for the finer breakdown by nationality and religion.

completed families.⁶ From this, it seems highly probable that families now in the process of formation will be smaller when completed than those now completed.

Summary. Although the present study is somewhat limited in both scope and size of sample, the following conclusions seem warranted. 1. If Wisconsin farmers could start over again as young people today, nearly two thirds of them would plan for smaller families, and the families would be smaller by nearly one third, or approximately two children, on the average. 2. Inadequate income is the major reason for desiring fewer children. 3. Economic status, nationality, and religion are all factors in the fertility of Wisconsin farmers, but there is evidence that the latter two factors have less influence than formerly. The trend is toward a convergence of desires in family size. Nationality and religion play a greater role among the poor than among those of higher status. This is especially true of the Catholics with low income. They are more resistant to change in family size than any other group studied. High economic status tends to nullify the influence of nationality and religion in fertility bringing about a uniformity of desire, and to decrease the size of family desired. 4. If desires of parents are any indication, disproportionately large family lines will likely remain larger than average, but fertility differentials will cease to be as great as they now are. There is a tendency in all classes studied toward smaller families. Economic advantages give impetus to this trend and the larger families are influenced first. The evidence of this study all points toward both the decrease and the convergence of fertility among Wisconsin farmers. Just how completely the churches and other agencies will operate to retard this process is not known but it would seem that any effective resistance must of necessity deal with the sophistication of the times. The problem is essentially one of attitude and motivation.

The findings of this study are being used in our work in population problems in Wisconsin communities. The conclusions, considered as suggestive and not final, cause us to alter our approach and empirical technique in education as the content of the culture varies from one economic level to another, and even within the same economic level.

⁶ In this comparison, there is no control of other factors, but a check-up of the average age of parents in the various age classes separated for factor analysis shows that the difference here would be even greater than that shown if these other factors were controlled. German Catholics, for example, with the largest average number of children per family (7.7) have an average parental age of only 56.6; and Scandinavian Lutherans, with the smallest average number of children per family (5.0) have an average parental age of 60.4. Similar figures for average parental age are 55.3 for German Lutheran families, 59.3 for all families in the low status area, 56.4 for all in the high status area, and 57.9 for total families.

Age control was not used in the analyses, for the reason that the number of cases in each category was so small that it did not permit this additional breakdown. Age differences among categories are not great, however, and completed families are therefore regarded as sufficiently homogeneous in age to ignore this factor for purposes at hand.

FAMILY TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1890 TO 1940*

PAUL C. GLICK

Bureau of the Census

F*amily Trends in the United States as a Whole.* The first census of the United States showed that in 1790 there were more families consisting of five persons than any other number. One hundred years later, in 1890, four-person families were the most numerous. By 1900, there were more three-person families and by 1930 more two-person families than any other size. In brief, the *modal or typical family size*, changed from five persons to two persons in the course of 140 years. In all probability, two-person families will remain the most frequent for several decades.

The extent of this change in family size can also be pictured in terms of the *mean or average size of family*. Thus, in 1790, the average number of persons per family was 5.7; by 1890, it was 4.9; by 1930, it was 4.1; and by 1940, 3.8. In other words, there was an average loss of almost one person per family during the first hundred years of our national history, and a loss of more than another during the last 50 years. As a consequence, the average family in 1940 was one third smaller than the average family in 1790. The most rapid decline in the average size of family since 1890 occurred during the last decade, when three tenths of a person were lost from the average family.

Throughout this paper, the number of occupied dwelling units reported in the 1940 Housing Census has been used as an approximation to the number of families in 1940. The average size of family has been computed by dividing the total population by the number of families (or occupied dwelling units).

The trend assumes added significance when one considers its implications in terms of the decreasing *number of children in the family*. By definition, the two parents represent a constant factor in the size of normal families (families with both head and wife present); and, although there may have been some increase in the proportion of homes that were broken, there still remain four out of five families that may be classified as normal. Furthermore, the average number of adult relatives 21 years old and over (about 0.45) and unrelated persons (nearly 0.3) per family has probably declined somewhat during the period of this study. It is reasonable to assume, however, that most of the loss in size of family is attributable to the diminution in the number of children under 21 years old that were living in the home. If this assumption is true, the drop during the last 150 years

* Presented to the American Sociological Society, New York City, December 27, 1941. The writer is indebted to P. K. Whelpton for a critical reading of the paper and to Lloyd A. Schermerhorn for assistance in preparing the manuscript.

has been from about 3.0 to only 1.3 children under 21 per family, a decline of 50 to 60 percent.

A part of this change can be accounted for by the increase in childless families. In 1930, nearly 40 percent of the families included no children under 21 years old, but it is probable that in 1990 less than 20 percent of the families contained no children of the same age. One of the chief reasons why there are more families today with no minor children is the fact that a far larger proportion of the parents are continuing to survive considerably beyond the period when their children leave home. Another reason is the increase in the average length of time between marriage and the birth of the first child. A third reason is the earlier age at which the last child is born.

In the future, the trend toward smaller families is expected to continue until a point of relative stability is reached. From forecasts of future population and families,¹ it is estimated that by 1980 the average size of family will be 3.1 persons, representing a further reduction of seven tenths of a person per family during the next forty years. If the loss continues to come largely from the number of minor children, there will be, on the average, only 60 children under 21 residing in each 100 families in 1980.

It is possible that such a dwindling of the average family may encourage more doubling of families in the future. As the number and percentage of older persons increase, the practice of combining two generations of small families in the same household may become more prevalent.

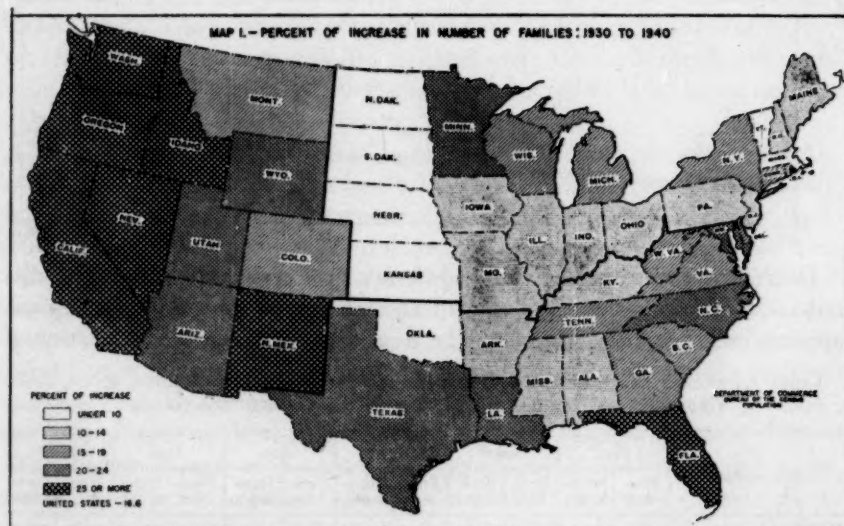
The rapid change in family size may also be viewed in relation to the slowing down of the rate of population growth. It is worthy of special note that, because of the steady fall in family size, the population has always tended to increase at a slower rate than the number of families. For example, there are now 175 percent more families than in 1890, but the population has grown by only 110 percent. Between now and 1980, the number of families is expected to increase approximately 40 percent, while the population will be augmented by only 16 percent. Again, if the average size of family had remained unchanged since the first census in 1790, the 35 million families in 1940 would have contained 200 million persons rather than 132 million. Even if the same average size prevailed today as in 1890, we would now have a population of more than 170 million. All of these facts make it clear that the distinction between family trends and population trends is especially significant to persons engaged in long range plans for housing and utility needs as well as for other types of consumption in which the family rather than the individual is the consuming unit.

Changes such as these could have been made only as a result of a radical revision (1) of the values placed upon the rearing of children, (2) of attitudes

¹ Following the procedure described in "The Problems of a Changing Population," 25, published by the National Resources Committee, Washington, D. C., October, 1937. The estimates were based upon Hypothesis B—medium mortality, medium fertility, and no immigration—since that set of assumptions is currently regarded as most reliable.

toward birth control, and (3) of habit patterns in the general conduct of family life. The interaction between parents and children has assumed considerably different patterns as the number of children in the family has declined. In the future, the weight of these changes will be felt in the plans for educational programs, in the planning of marketing agencies, and in many other phases of social, economic, and political life.

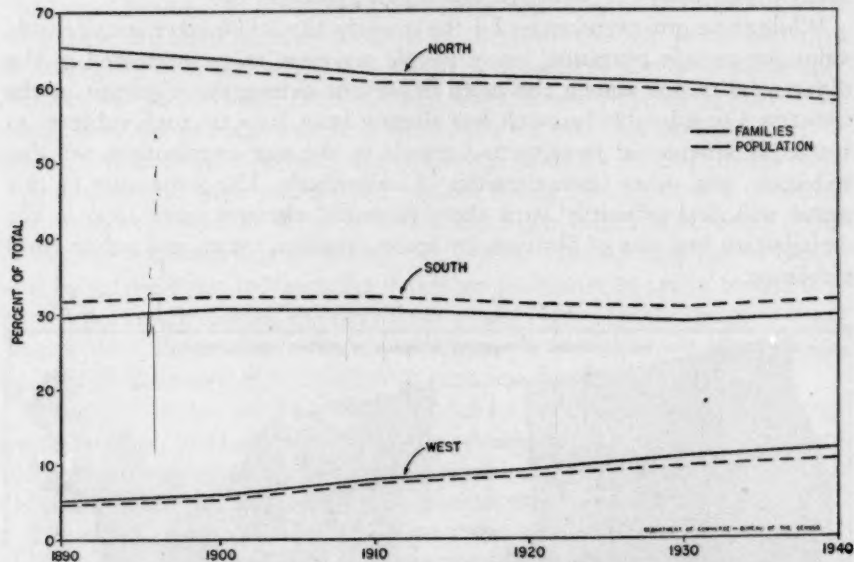
While these gross tendencies for the country as a whole have considerable value for certain purposes, many people are even more interested in the differential trends among the more important demographic groups in the country. Considerable research has already been done on such subjects as trends in differential fertility and trends in the age distribution, sex distribution, and other characteristics of individuals. The remainder of this paper will deal primarily with the differential changes since 1890 in the distribution and size of families, by states, regions, races, and urban-rural residence.



Increase in Number of Families and Population by States. Map I shows the percentage of increase in the number of families between 1930 and 1940 by states. The most prominent tendencies indicated by the map are the very small increases in the number of families in the Prairie States and the heavy increases in the Far Western states and Florida. In general, the states with small increases in families represent the areas that have lost population by out-migration, and the states with large increases in families represent areas that have gained by in-migration from other states. In fact, a map showing the percentage of increase in population due to net internal

migration looks very similar to Map 1. During the last ten years the North grew the least in the number of families, 13 percent, the South intermediate, 19 percent, and the West the most, 29 percent.

FIG. 1. DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES AND POPULATION BY REGION:
UNITED STATES, 1890 TO 1940



Distribution of Families and Population by Region and Race. The distribution of families and population at each census since 1890 by regions appears in Table 1 and Figure 1. The trend has been toward the location of

TABLE 1. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES AND POPULATION, BY REGION, RACE, AND URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1890 TO 1940

Area or Race	1890 ^a		1900 ^a		1910 ^b		1920		1930		1940 ^c	
	Families	Population	Families	Population	Families	Population	Families	Population	Families	Population	Families	Population
United States.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
North.....	65.4	63.4	63.7	62.3	61.7	60.6	61.1	60.2	60.3	59.4	58.7	57.8
South.....	29.6	31.7	30.5	32.3	30.4	32.0	27.6	31.3	28.9	30.8	29.5	31.6
West.....	4.9	4.8	5.7	5.4	7.8	7.4	9.2	8.4	10.8	9.7	11.9	10.5
White.....	88.7	87.8	88.1	87.9	88.8	88.9	89.6	89.7	90.2	89.8	90.6	89.8
Negro.....	11.1	11.9	11.5	11.6	10.7	10.7	10.0	9.9	9.4	9.7	9.4	9.8
Other races.....	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4
Urban.....	36.2	35.3	40.4	39.7	46.4	45.7	52.6	51.2	58.1	56.2	59.1	56.5
100,000 or more.....	15.4	15.5	18.6	18.7	21.8	22.1	26.2	25.9	30.6	29.6	30.4	28.9
Under 100,000.....	20.8	19.8	21.8	21.0	24.5	23.6	26.4	25.3	27.5	26.6	28.7	27.7
Rural.....	63.8	64.7	59.6	60.3	53.6	54.3	47.4	48.8	41.9	43.8	40.9	43.5

^a For 1890 and 1900, total families, farm, and nonfarm families, and families in cities of 25,000 or more, were available; families in urban places under 25,000 and rural families were estimated.

^b For 1910, total families and Negro families were available; white families and families of other races were estimated.

^c For 1940, occupied dwelling units were used instead of families. Dwelling units occupied by nonwhite families in 1940 were used because separate data for Negroes and other races have not yet been tabulated.

a smaller proportion of the country's families and population in the North and a larger proportion in the West, with the South becoming more densely populated at about the same rate as the nation as a whole. The net regional change, therefore, has been a shift from the North to the West. The tendency for southern families to move to the North has apparently been more than offset by the movement of families from the North to the West.

Over the 50-year period since 1890, the North has comprised, on the average, about 60 percent of the population and families, the South 30 percent, and the West 10 percent, although the land area of the three regions is roughly the same. The South has claimed a higher percentage of the population than of the families throughout the entire period, because families in that region have been larger than the national average. The reverse is true for the North and West. There has been some convergence of the population and family trends in the North and a divergence of the trends in the West. In a chart to be presented later (Figure 3), it may be noted that the average size of family was about the same in the North and West in 1890. The converging and diverging tendencies just noted imply that the average size of family has declined more slowly in the North than in the country as a whole, and that the average size has fallen more rapidly in the West than in the entire nation.

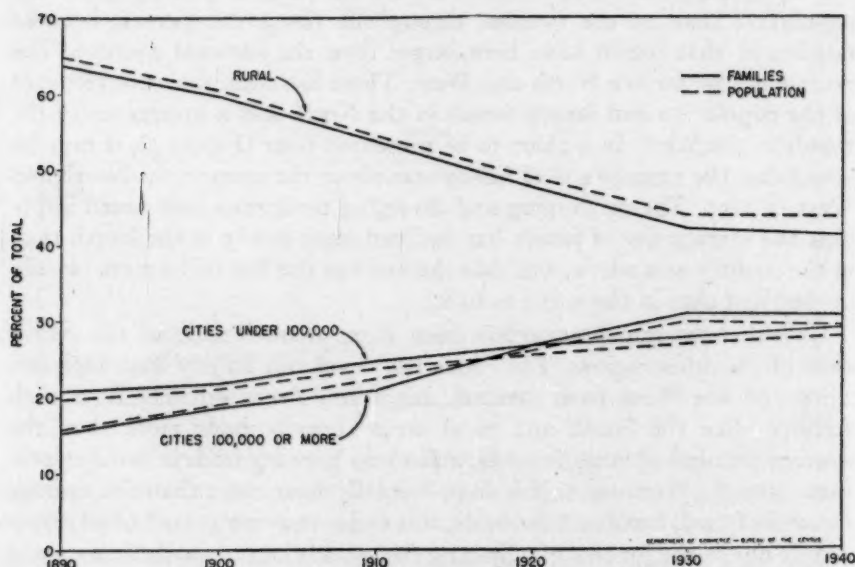
Growth from immigration has been more characteristic of the North than of the other regions. The South has developed largely from high fertility and the West from internal migration. Areas growing from high fertility—like the South and rural areas—usually have more than the average number of large families, and those growing from internal migration—like the West and urban areas—usually have more than the average number of small families. Obviously, it is easier to move a small family than a large one in the process of adjusting the equilibrium of available men and available jobs. This implies that a part of the difference between regions in size of family is a result of migration rather than a cause of migration.

Taking the country as a whole, the Negro families have multiplied more slowly than the white since 1890. This is evident when we consider that Negro families constituted 11 percent of the families in the United States 50 years ago but dropped to 9 percent in 1930. At the same time, the Negro population fell from 12 percent to 10 percent of the total population. Because of the heavy concentration of Negroes in the South, the trends just noted for the nation are very similar to those for the southern region. In the North, however, the relatively small number of Negro families increased almost twice as fast as the white since 1890. As for the West, there has been a rapid influx of Negroes into the coastal cities of California, but the total number of Negro families in the West is still less than 50,000, as compared with nearly twice that number of families of "other races."

Distribution of Families and Population by Urban-Rural Residence. The

trend toward greater urbanization has at least temporarily slowed down, as can be readily seen in Table 1 and Figure 2. Although the proportion of families that resided in rural areas showed a drop between 1890 and 1930 from 64 percent to 42 percent, there was very little change in the distribution of urban and rural families during the ten years following 1930. For 50 years there has been roughly the same number of families in cities under 100,000 population as over 100,000, with the smaller cities growing more

FIG. 2. DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES AND POPULATION BY SIZE OF PLACE:
UNITED STATES, 1890 TO 1940



slowly than the larger cities. Since 1930, however, the smaller cities have continued to gain faster than the country as a whole, while the larger cities have not quite held their own. Recent population and family growth has centered largely in the satellite cities within metropolitan districts, or in other words, in urban areas near but outside the metropolitan central cities.

Rural areas have consistently had a higher proportion of the nation's population than of the nation's families, and the difference between the two proportions has recently been increasing. Since 1890, rural families have increased by 76 percent as against 41 percent for the rural population. The corresponding increases for the urban areas were 348 percent and 237 percent. These differential changes have affected the trends in urban and rural family size, as a later section of this paper will bring out.

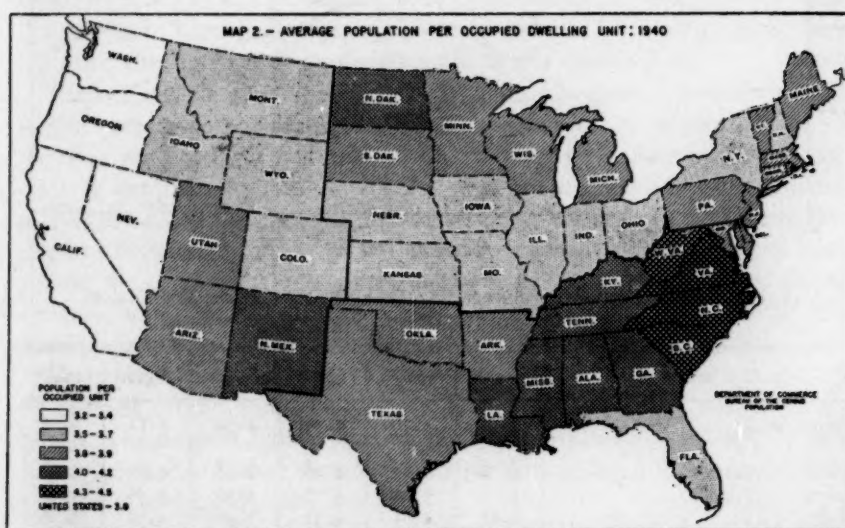
Average Size of Family by States. The several states in 1940 fell into a

fain
ma
3.5
ten
con
lina
of t
or n
base
incr
coun
the



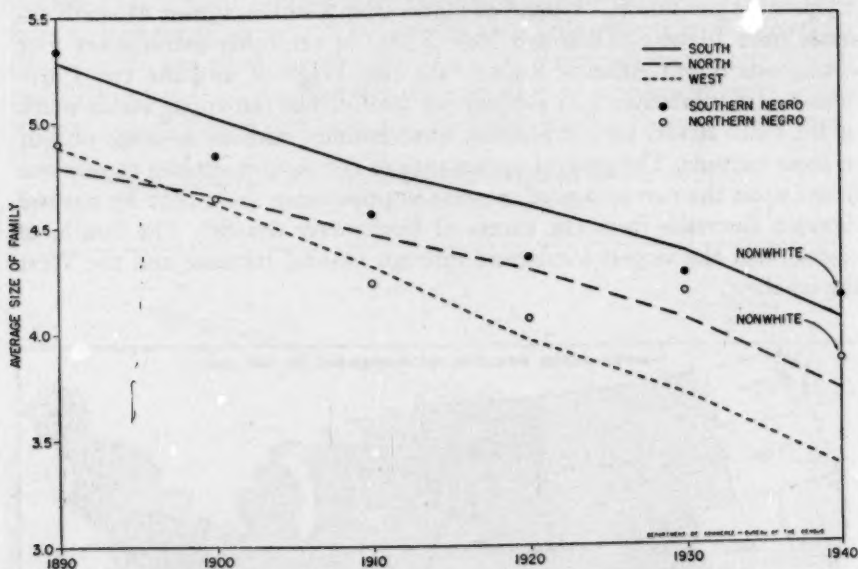
Aver
entiate
from t
residen
smalles
decline
loss of
West is
segment
sponsib
As p
since 18

fairly regular pattern with respect to average population per family, as may be seen in Map 2. The four most westerly states reported fewer than 3.5 persons per family. A band of states with families almost as small extends from Idaho to Ohio and New York. At the other extreme are four contiguous South Atlantic States—the two Virginias and the two Carolinas—with more than 4.25 persons per family. The remaining states south of the Ohio River, except Florida, have families with an average of four or more persons. The general appearance of this map resembles closely one based upon the percentage of increase in population since 1930 by natural increase (increase from the excess of births over deaths). The South, of course, had the largest increment through natural increase and the West the smallest.



Average Size of Family by Region and Race. One of the factors that differentiates most clearly the populations having a large average size of family from those having a small average size of family is geographic region of residence (see Table 2 and Figure 3). Since 1900, the West has had the smallest families and also the most pronounced absolute and proportional decline in family size. In the last fifty years, the West has experienced a loss of more than 1.5 persons per family. This loss in family size for the West is the sharpest one that is pointed out in this paper for any large segment of the population. No doubt selective in-migration is chiefly responsible for the loss.

As pointed out earlier, the South has had clearly the largest families since 1890. There is evidently a combination of economic and cultural fac-

FIG. 3. AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY BY REGION AND RACE:
UNITED STATES, 1890 TO 1940TABLE 2. AVERAGE POPULATION PER FAMILY, BY REGION, RACE, AND URBAN-
RURAL RESIDENCE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1890 TO 1940

Area or Race	1890 ^a	1900 ^a	1910 ^a	1920	1930	1940 ^a
United States.....	4.93	4.76	4.54	4.34	4.11	3.78
North.....	4.78	4.65	4.46	4.28	4.05	3.72
South.....	5.28	5.02	4.77	4.59	4.37	4.05
West.....	4.88	4.61	4.31	3.96	3.70	3.36
White.....	4.89	4.75	4.54	4.34	4.09	3.75
North.....	4.78	4.65	4.46	4.28	4.04	3.72
South.....	5.24	5.11	4.86	4.69	4.41	4.02
West.....	4.78	4.56	4.30	3.95	3.67	3.34
Negro.....	5.30	4.82	4.52	4.30	4.24	4.09 ^b
North.....	4.90	4.64	4.23	4.06	4.18	3.87
South.....	5.34	4.84	4.56	4.35	4.27	4.16
West.....	5.28	4.34	3.99	3.87	3.53	4.03
Urban.....	4.81	4.61	4.47	4.23	3.97	3.61
100,000 or more.....	4.96	4.71	4.59	4.30	3.97	3.59
Under 100,000.....	4.70	4.52	4.36	4.16	3.97	3.64
Rural.....	5.01	4.75	4.60	4.46	4.29	4.01

^a See footnotes on Table 1.^b Nonwhite instead of Negro for the total and each region.

tors in the South that favors large families, but space does not permit elaboration on this point. Suffice it to say that both white and Negro families have been larger in the South than in the North; and both urban and rural families have been as large or larger in the South than in the North.

In evaluating the differences between Negroes and whites with regard to family size, three characteristics of Negro families should be borne in mind. First, there are proportionally more very small and more very large families among the Negroes than among the whites. The net effect has been to give the Negroes a larger average size of family than whites but a smaller median size. Second, Negroes are more likely to have lodgers in their homes and Negro homes with lodgers are more likely to have several of them. Third, nearly 90 percent of the Northern Negro families are located in urban areas as against slightly over 35 percent in the South. These three differences in household composition and residence have a significant bearing upon the interpretation of changes in family size by race.

Table 2 and Figure 3 show for the Northern Negroes a downward trend in the average size of family, with the exception of an increase during the decade from 1920 to 1930. Most of this increase took place in the northern cities of less than 500,000 population, with the greatest additions probably in Negro suburbs of large industrial centers. The upturn may have been due to additional crowding as a result of migrating Negroes from the South during the 1920's making their residence with families that arrived earlier. In most northern cities Negroes are segregated into rather limited residential quarters and they find the invasion of white areas very difficult.

Nonwhite family data are shown for 1940, but Negroes constitute over 95 percent of the nonwhites in the North and nearly 99 percent in the South. The drop in family size for the Northern nonwhites between 1930 and 1940 suggests that crowded housing among the nonwhites has been somewhat alleviated in the North.

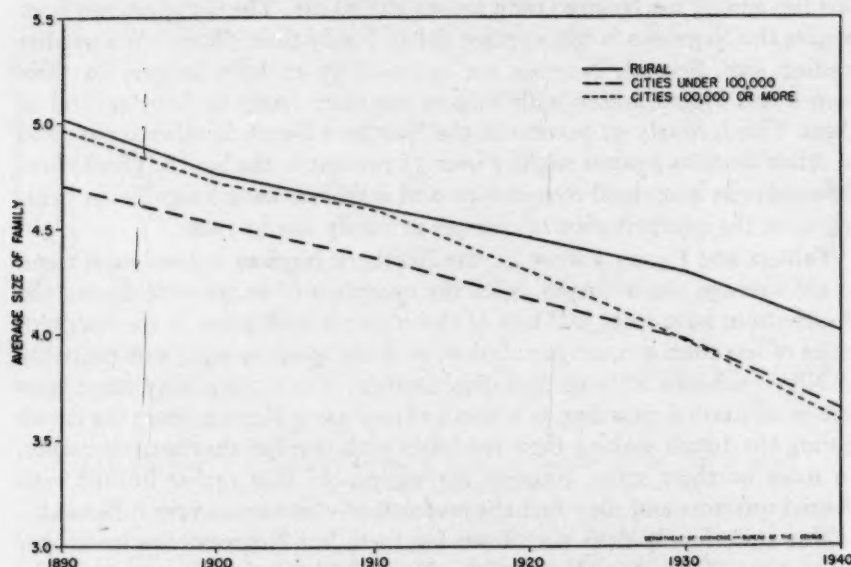
Average Size of Family by Size of Place. The last chart shows the trends in family size for urban and rural areas (see Table 2 and Figure 4). It can be seen from the table that the difference between the average size of urban families and the average size of rural families has been widening. This tendency is traceable to the very rapid decline in the size of family in metropolitan centers (cities of 100,000 or more). Families in rural areas are still about as much larger than families in the small cities as they were in 1890. On the other hand, during the early part of the century the large cities had large families—almost as large as rural families. Since 1930, however, there has been surprisingly little difference between the size of family in small and large cities.

This negligible difference in family size between small and large cities holds true in 1940 for every geographic division but between the urban areas of one geographic division and another, there still remain wide differ-

ences in family size. Therefore, as far as cities are concerned, the geographic location of the city seems more important than the magnitude of its population, in determining the average size of its families.

What we have observed does not refute the fact that urban families in all sections of the country remain smaller than rural families. In fact, the

FIG. 4. AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY BY SIZE OF PLACE:
UNITED STATES 1890 TO 1940



average size of family in the United States has fallen as rapidly as it has largely because urban families (as a whole) have been relatively small and because the population in this country has become increasingly more urbanized.

The foregoing discussion summarizes all of the census data on family composition that are comparable for the period 1890 to 1940. Several additional family characteristics were tabulated in 1930² and still more are to be tabulated from the 1940 Census. When the detailed family data for 1940 become available, many additional aspects of family change since 1930 can be studied.

² See the author's article, "Types of Families: An Analysis of Census Data," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 6: 830-838, Dec. 1941.

COMMENT

ROBERT C. ANGELL

University of Michigan

It is fitting at this time of national emergency to examine all questions from the point of view of societal integration and morale. Although Dr. Glick's findings with respect to family trends in the United States do not shed any direct light upon these matters, they suggest problems for further research.

The most obvious of these problems is one which has already received some attention, especially by those who have been concerned to explain the collapse of France. What is the effect of a declining national birth rate and the consequent increasing military handicap in the competition with more prolific nations? Does an unfavorable differential in population growth in itself make for bad morale? Or does it have to be realized by the mass of the people? Is a differential rate of increase sufficient to produce national discouragement and a sense of hopelessness, or is it necessary for the situation to become one of actual population decrease before morale is affected? These are important questions, about which many of us may have opinions but for which none of us have scientific answers.

It is, however, to another, less obvious, consideration that I wish to turn attention. The trends revealed in Dr. Glick's paper are a reflection not only of a declining birth rate but of a longer life span and a decreasing residence of older people with their children, nieces, nephews, etc. The upshot is that there are more middle and old-aged couples living by themselves than ever before. A typical husband and wife marry in their early twenties and have two or three children before the wife is thirty. By the time the parents are fifty, the children have grown up and moved away from home. The parents then live another twenty-five years by themselves. Even if they live to a riper age than that, they are unlikely to go to dwell with one of their children. Our mores of personal independence make the parents unwilling and the children disinclined to adopt this arrangement.

This situation has of course not developed suddenly but the change in the past fifty years has been great. In 1890, birth control measures were less generally known and were less effective. Women commonly had children until the age of forty. The parents were therefore approaching sixty before the last child left the home for good. Frequently one of the parents died shortly thereafter and the other made his or her home with a child already established. Even if both parents lived beyond seventy they often arranged to live in the home of one of their children when the father ceased to be self-supporting.

What is the relevance to national morale of this increased number of couples who spend their middle- and old-age separated from their children? At first glance, one might suppose that national morale would be strengthened because these men and women have more time to think about, and act upon, matters of community and national welfare. Though this communally creative adjustment may be made by a few persons, general observation suggests that it is rare. More often, the couple feels at loose ends. For twenty-five years or so, they have focused their interest upon their children and now that focus is gone. To loneliness there may be added a sense of futility. The parents are not so much culturally uprooted as culturally eviscerated. The principal meaning has dropped out of life. Hence, a feeling of unrest. Since the children's problems are no longer pressing, the parents are likely to begin worrying about their own problems—their health, and provisions for their old age. Social movements like that of Dr. Townsend find in them willing listeners and ardent workers. Such movements give their life new meaning by giving them a cause.

Worthy as the program of old age security may be, it is not one which tends to integrate these people with the rest of society. Since they are to be the beneficiaries, it is not surprising that the younger elements in the population look upon it as selfish. A program which would be unifying if urged by the young, is disintegrative when urged by the old. There is not the sharing of common objectives which is necessary to national morale.

What the general line of action should be is almost as clear as the fact that a problem exists. As the burden of child rearing begins to lessen, parents need to be brought more and more into the stream of active community participation, so that when the last child has left home, the gap in their lives can be filled with socially oriented endeavors. This would have the dual advantage of keeping them from feeling isolated from other age groups in the population, and adding to the amount of energy being devoted to the buttressing of the common values of our society. If the Civilian Defense program goes ahead on a large scale it will undoubtedly serve as a channel for just such expression among many parents-newly-childless. The problem will then be to carry over the same enthusiastic participation into equally integrating peace-time programs.

The
scio
the
for
chil
the
It
pare
the
with
fath
daug
sexe
eithe
its p
Freu
the p
entia
of th
by th
woul
that
press
child
filial
moth
while
of th
twelv

* A
27, 194
1 W
analysis
2 M
2 A
Wishes

THE CHILD'S PREFERENCE FOR FATHER OR MOTHER*

MEYER F. NIMKOFF

Bucknell University

THERE IS considerable interest, theoretical as well as practical, in the question as to which of his parents a child prefers, and why. According to the psychoanalysts, as expressed in the well-known Oedipus Theory, there is an inherent inclination toward incest, an innate unconscious sexual desire among sons for their mothers, among daughters for their fathers. By this theory, the child's preference would ordinarily be for the parent of the opposite sex. Toward the parent of the same sex the child might have a love-hate attitude, with jealousy being aroused when the child becomes conscious of love-making between his parents.¹

If, as the above theory holds, the child's preference is usually for the parent of the opposite sex and the choice is genetically determined, then the filial preference-pattern should be virtually the same in all cultures, with sons generally drawn toward the mother and daughters toward the father, but, as we shall see, there are some places where both sons and daughters prefer their mothers; other societies where children of both sexes prefer the father; and still others where very little feeling exists for either parent. In our own culture, with its repressive sexual attitudes and its patriarchal tradition, a better case can perhaps be made out for the Freudian hypothesis than in most other places, but even here jealousy of the parent of the same sex, when it exists, is probably due more to experiential factors than to biological ones. It is probable that the sexual aspect of the parent-child relationship in our own society has been emphasized by the Freudians at the expense of more important factors. Otherwise, it would be difficult to account for the findings of certain studies which show that a larger percentage of children of *both* sexes in the United States express preference for the mother than for the father. In one study of 500 children, five to nine years of age, using indirect means of ascertaining filial preference, such as reactions to pictures and stories, preference for mother was expressed by 70 percent of the girls and 61 percent of the boys, while the father was favored by only 22 percent of the boys and 28 percent of the girls.² Another study³ of 400 children between the ages of five and twelve reports that the children showed more consideration for their

* Adapted from a paper presented to American Sociological Society, New York, December 27, 1941.

¹ William Healy, A. F. Bronner, and A. M. Bowers, *The Structure and Meaning of Psychoanalysis*, 128-192. New York, 1930.

² Margaret Simpson, *Parent Preferences of Young Children*, New York, 1935.

³ Arthur T. Jersild, Frances V. Markey, and Catherine L. Jersild, *Children's Fears, Dreams, Wishes, Daydreams, Likes, Dislikes, Pleasant and Unpleasant Memories*, New York, 1933.

mothers than for their fathers. For instance, wishes for mothers' welfare were more evident than wishes for fathers' welfare. The children also stated that more of the "best happenings" of their lives were connected with their mothers, while separation from their mothers was mentioned more often as a "worst happening." However, the children's dreams revealed a fear of the death or sickness of both parents. In all cases, the girls were found to have these wishes, fears, etc. in connection with their mothers or both parents more often than the boys, which is difficult to explain on biological grounds but which may reflect the greater dependence of girls in our culture.

One weakness of Freudian psychology is its biological determinism and its failure to recognize adequately the role of culture as a conditioning agent in human personality, as is now acknowledged within the psychoanalytic camp by Horney, Fromm, Kardiner, and others. Even if we were to grant the existence of a natural tendency in human offspring toward preferential association with the parent of the opposite sex, we should still have to allow that, like other organically determined drives, it might still be modified, even radically, by culture, which is itself not biologically determined and sometimes not even in harmony with the biological nature of man. In accounting for the child's preference for his mother or father, it is more in keeping with the evidence to look to the external or situational factors, which constitute the truly dynamic elements, rather than to genetic impulses. Certainly the newborn child shows no preference for his own mother and will accept a wet nurse in her stead. Indeed, the craving of the babe is not for human beings but for the satisfaction of his organic wants; if a robot could be devised to supply these wants, the child would no doubt become attached to the robot. If the child comes to prefer his mother, it must be because of what she does for him. The very young child has relatively few simple needs, like those for food, warmth, activity, and affection. As the child grows older, the need for affection becomes proliferated into needs for sympathy, understanding, encouragement, and appreciation, which Thomas included under the general term, response, and which we commonly recognize as aspects of fellowship or companionship. But even the most affectionate relationship involves some control in the interests of the child's socialization. He must adopt the ways of the group. One phase of the control a child experiences has a positive cast and is directive in nature, as when he learns to speak a language or wear clothes. However, to live satisfactorily in organized society, the child must also be curbed in certain of his actions. Denials and restrictions are part of the experience of every child, although in varying degree, and nonconformity everywhere brings punishment. The latter type of control, which may be referred to as restrictive discipline, meets with more resistance and often leads to a show of resentment against the agent responsible for the control.

The thesis may now be stated that restrictive discipline and companionship are two experiential factors of importance in determining the child's reactions to his parents. In general, we may say that parent will be preferred who offers more in the way of companionship and exacts less in the way of discipline. In our own society, the relative disfavor in which fathers are held would then be accounted for by the fact that they are the ones who chiefly administer the more serious punishment, while offering less in the way of fellowship. In the competition for the favor of the children, the mother in our culture has a great advantage. It is she who more often regularly satisfies the organic needs of the young child and the later psychological needs as well, while the father is cast in the role of disciplinarian. In our culture, the mother is relatively more a symbol of pleasure to the children, less a symbol of pain. The preference, then, is not in terms of any inherent genetic factor like sex but is a result of the prevailing culture. The failure of a large group of American children to express any preference for either parent would be interpreted as a manifestation of the progressive decline of the patriarchal type of family organization in our country and the emergence of the equalitarian type, with its characteristic pattern of joint responsibility by the parents, both for discipline and fellowship.

The hypothesis just stated is to be regarded as a problem for research, to which the present paper is an introduction. Such preliminary exploration may well precede empirical investigation.

If the thesis advanced is sound, then the direction of the child's interest in his parents should be affected by variations in the pattern of parental control and companionship. This is apparently what we find when we examine the situation in different cultures. There are societies where children of both sexes prefer the father, e.g., the Marquesans and the Manus. Marquesan children distrust their mothers who neglect and abuse them, while the men provide such adult companionship as the children secure.⁴ Manus mothers would like to be companionable with their children but must, after the child's first year of life, relinquish its care to the father who becomes the child's companion and favorite.⁵ Restrictive discipline does not enter as a differential factor in these cases because it is usually at a minimum. Again, there are societies where the children show no marked preference for either parent, either because they like both parents about equally well or because they are substantially independent of both. The former appears to be the case among the Hopi,⁶ for example. The Hopi boy has a pleasant relationship with his mother, with whom he has a close legal tie because of the matrilineal organization, but he also has agreeable association with his father, partly because responsibility for serious punishment in this

⁴ Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society*, Chapter V, New York, 1939.

⁵ Margaret Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea*, New York, 1930.

⁶ Wayne Dennis, *The Hopi Child*, New York, 1940.

society is relegated to the maternal uncle. An arrangement found in primitive society which minimizes the child's relationship to both his parents is the practice of having the child withdraw partially from his own household and take up residence in the home of relatives or in a special dormitory for the unmarried. Such arrangements are found, for example, among the Ifugao,⁷ the Naga of Assam (India),⁸ and the Samoans.⁹ The children's hoodlum gangs of the Kafir of South Africa¹⁰ and the Ojibwa,¹¹ training for nondependence on one's parents, belong in the category where identification with parents does not figure to any important extent as a sanction in the child's education.

These observations on the parent-child relationship in primitive society are of course generalized statements, to which numerous exceptions and qualifications might be noted. The Manus mother is not supposed to have a close emotional relationship with her children, who should remain with their father in case of divorce, but the mother may run off with the children, which shows that her feelings for her offspring are not always successfully repressed by the culture. Doubtless, too, there are Manus children who prefer their mothers. Unfortunately, the literature of any particular preliterate society is seldom given in sufficiently detailed form to enable us to observe these variations and deviations from the norm, or at least the degree to which they occur. For greater knowledge of these conditioning and qualifying factors, we must turn to parent-child relationships in our own country, although here the problem is complicated by the fact that we have no homogeneous culture.

In the course of this study, a considerable number of case studies have been obtained from college students at Bucknell University, emphasizing especially their disciplinary and affectional experiences with their parents. Also, a random sampling of published autobiographies has been made and those which were found to contain adequate information were scanned from the standpoint of our problem. These case studies support the general thesis of this paper but also show some of the complexities of the problem. First, preference is not a fixed or static phenomenon but like attitudes generally is subject to change, although on the whole not particularly volatile. A child may prefer his mother when he is small, his father when he is older, or vice versa. There is often variation with age but the age or maturational factor is quite secondary to the social situation. The change

⁷ R. F. Barton, *Ifugao Law*, 18, Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Amer. Archeol. and Ethnol., vol. 15, Feb. 1919.

⁸ J. F. Mills, *The Rengma Nagas*, London, 1937.

⁹ "Few children live continuously in one household, but are always testing out other possible residences" (page 43) Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, New York, 1928.

¹⁰ D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, London, 1906.

¹¹ Ruth Landes, *The Ojibwa Woman*, Columbia Univ. Contrib. to Anthropol., 1938, 31: Pt. I, 1-50.

in preference results from a change in the behavior of the parents, or a change in the child's valuation, or both. Second, the analysis of the cases raises certain questions regarding the concept of *preference*. When we ask which parent is preferred, must we ask: preferred for what? It is acknowledged that preference is a function of particular situations and a child who awaits eagerly his father's homecoming because he prefers him as a playmate may run to his mother when he is hurt. But some situations are valued more highly than others and it is perhaps on the basis of these evaluations that the child makes his ultimate choice, preferring the parent who most respects him, sympathizes with him, befriends him, and captures his imagination. A further problem which seems more important is that the child's preference may not be accurately acknowledged or even known by him, or the causes of his preference may be rationalized. Anonymous replies encourage veracity but the more serious problem remains, namely, some persons are unaware of their deeper feelings and have strong unconscious attitudes of dependency upon a parent which they do not recognize. Preference for mother or father is, however, seldom repressed to the point where manifestations do not appear in conscious behavior, as in the desire to be in the company of one parent rather than the other, to receive the praise of one in particular, to defend one parent against the other, as in argument, and the like.

The remainder of this paper will be devoted to considering briefly certain evidence afforded by the case studies, which contribute to our understanding of parental roles and the relation of these to children's preferences for mother or father. The material in published autobiographies will be referred to here, since these are available and can be checked upon by others, if desired. The autobiographies were read and the family situation of each was evaluated by two judges, who classified the case in one of three categories: (1) marked preference for mother, (2) marked preference for father. (3) preference uncertain or no marked preference. For instance, of the autobiographies by women, those of Eleanor Roosevelt,¹² Alice R. Longworth,¹³ Margaret Sanger,¹⁴ Emily Dickinson,¹⁵ and Armin von Tempski¹⁶ were thought to show marked preference for father, while Eva Le Gallienne's story¹⁷ was believed to show marked preferential reference to her mother. A comparison of categories one and two (preference for father and preference for mother) shows that differences in control-companionship pattern are prominent, that on the whole the preference is for the parent

¹² Eleanor Roosevelt, "This Is My Story," *Ladies Home Journal*, April 1937-Jan. 1938.

¹³ Alice Roosevelt Longworth, *Crowded Hours*, New York, 1933.

¹⁴ Margaret Sanger, *Margaret Sanger; an Autobiography*, New York, 1938.

¹⁵ Martha Dickinson Bianchi, *Life and Letters of Emily Dickinson*, Cambridge, Mass., 1924.

¹⁶ Armine von Tempski, *Born in Paradise*, New York, 1940.

¹⁷ Eva Le Gallienne, *At 33*, New York, 1934.

who is most companionable and least censorious. Of the two factors, companionship seems more weighty. For instance, the father will usually be preferred if he is companionable while the mother is not, even if he is a strict disciplinarian and the mother is lenient. Or the mother will be preferred if the conditions are reversed.¹⁸

Where the mother is preferred, she is generally described as the more sympathetic and understanding parent, while the father is the more distant and strict. G. Stanley Hall's *Confessions of a Psychologist*¹⁹ gives a good picture of such contrasting parental roles. Where the preference for one parent is considerable, there appears to be a tendency to carry it to the logical extreme and virtually rule out the other, as in Abraham Lincoln's oft-quoted dictum: "All that I am I owe to my mother." In one of our cases, that of James Matthew Barrie, the dependence of the son upon the mother is extreme, perhaps abnormal.²⁰ The preference for mother is strong where the father defaults in his family responsibility as through desertion in the case of William Lloyd Garrison,²¹ whose father left him at the age of three. The mother-preference is also strong where the father is not an integral part of the family, where the responsibilities of the mother are particularly heavy. Marked sentiment for mother is expressed in a number of autobiographies of distinguished Negroes²² who were born into slave families with a maternal organization. Under these circumstances, the close correlation between the protective role of the mother and the marked dependence of the children upon her stands out in particularly clear focus.

Special interest attaches to the cases where the father is preferred by sons, since this is in marked contrast to the usual response in our culture and not in harmony with the psychoanalytic hypothesis of the Oedipus complex. If the psychoanalysts retort that these are cases of inverted Oedipus, we might say that it would be odd indeed if there should be such a large number of cases of inversion in this small sample. The evidence scarcely supports such an interpretation.

Sons making a preferential reference to their fathers include Benjamin Franklin,²³ A. A. Milne,²⁴ James Gallatin,²⁵ Léon Gambetta,²⁶ William Jennings Bryan,²⁷ Will Durant,²⁸ Lincoln Steffens,²⁹ and Theodore Roose-

¹⁸ For a good example, see Terence V. Powderly, *The Path I Trod*, New York, 1940.

¹⁹ George Stanley Hall, *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist*, New York, 1923.

²⁰ See Barrie's account of his mother, *Margaret Ogilvy*.

²¹ Francis J. Garrison and Wendell P. Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison*, Boston, 1894.

²² Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, New York, 1900; William Pickens, *Bursting Bonds*, Boston, 1929.

²³ Benjamin Franklin, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin*, New York, 1860.

²⁴ A. A. Milne, *It's Too Late Now* (The Autobiography of a Writer), London, 1939.

²⁵ James Gallatin, *The Diary of James Gallatin*, New York, 1920.

²⁶ Léon Gambetta, *Gambetta: Life and Letters*, New York, 1910.

²⁷ William Jennings Bryan and Mary B. Bryan, *Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan*, Chicago, 1925.

²⁸ Will Durant, *Transition*, New York, 1927.

²⁹ Lincoln Steffens, *Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, New York, 1931.

velt.³⁰ Lincoln Steffens' case is interesting in showing that it is not so much the severity of discipline to which a child takes exception as the spirit of it. A child is more likely to resent punishment if it is undeserved, or if the form of administering it is destructive of self-respect. Lincoln Steffens' mother and father shared everyday discipline, with the father taking over the more serious assignments, which were however few.

My father was not given to whipping. He did it very seldom but he did it hard when he did it at all. My mother was just the opposite. She did not whip me, but she often smacked me, and she had a most annoying habit of thumping me on the head with her thimble finger. This I resented more than my father's thorough thrashings.³¹

Steffens goes on to explain that it dampened his spirits and caused him to feel thoroughly squelched, whereas his father's discipline, he felt, was as man to man.

Particularly illuminating is the autobiography of A. A. Milne, most famous living writer of children's stories, which shows how the culture defines the roles a mother plays. In keeping with English upper middle-class and upper-class tradition, Milne was reared by paid governesses, maids, and teachers. Governesses came and went throughout his childhood, only one staying long enough to lead to a strong personal attachment. The responsibilities and contacts that the mother ordinarily has with her child were in this case taken over by others, with what effect we may judge from Milne's own comment about his mother.

I don't think I ever really knew her. When I was a child I neither experienced, nor felt the need of, that mother-love of which one reads so much, and over which I am supposed (so mistakenly) to have sentimentalized. I learnt no prayers at my mother's knee, as so many children seem to have done. It was Papa who told us about God, and we who told the governess. No doubt Mama felt that Papa was so good at playing with a child, and amusing a child, and making a child love him, that she oughtn't to interfere there either. Certainly as a child I gave my heart to my father.³²

Most fathers are probably not as companionable as Milne's and the use of nurses in certain circles probably leads more frequently to dependence upon the nurse, as was true for Robert Louis Stevenson who showed his feeling for his childhood nurse, Alison Cunningham, in the dedication of his *Garden of Verses* to her:

My second mother, my first wife;
The angel of my infant life.

Dependence of children upon their parents appears to be at a minimum in upper class English families in certain colonies like India and North

³⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, New York, 1921.

³¹ Lincoln Steffens, *op. cit.*, 92-93.

³² A. A. Milne, *op. cit.*, 23.

Borneo,³³ where facilities for schooling are not good and children are early separated from their parents, as Kipling was, and returned to England for education. It may be observed parenthetically that the marked attenuation of parent-child relationships in upper-class English circles as compared with lower-class English circles helps to explain why the evacuation of the former to rural regions and even over-seas has been carried out with greater success than in the case of the latter.

To conclude, evidence has been supplied from a variety of situations which indicates that, whatever be the natural ties between mother and child and whatever natural advantage this may give her in securing the child's dependence upon her, the effects of this situation may be offset by the prevailing culture in the way it defines the roles of mother and father. The range of dependency upon the mother is certainly great from certain upper-class English circles where responsibility for children rests almost completely with nurses and governesses to certain groups of Eskimo mothers who continue to nurse their children for many years, sometimes even into adulthood. Similar extensive variability can be shown in the father's role, both as disciplinarian and companion. Relative differences between parents in their fellowship-discipline roles are thus suggested as important factors in determining the child's preference for father or mother.

As a next step, it is desirable to subject the hypothesis to empirical testing by means of correlation studies. A substantial number of case histories can be secured providing information on the subjects' disciplinary and companionate experiences with their parents. After this information is in hand, the subjects can furnish by indirect means (for instance a performance test) an unwitting expression of preference for mother or father, also a direct statement of preference to compare with the indirect expression. A number of judges unfamiliar with the thesis under consideration can appraise the cases, evaluating the roles of the father and mother as disciplinarian and companion, and then correlate the data with the filial preferences. Such empirical research would affirm, or deny, the hypothesis of this paper, an hypothesis of considerable significance for the development of personality in parent-child relationships.

³³ Agnes Newton Keith, *Land Below the Wind*, Boston, 1940.

A
I
view
thin
in v
neig
ticip
In t
obse
hood
W
a de
logic
neig
beco
clear
neig
tends
the
enme
next
In th
denti
stand
hoods
1 Th
for exa
44, Ne
penter,
The Ci
York, 1
2 Ne
distance
than th
3 Th
York, 1
(Decem
of the So
4 See
Chicago
Park, E.

A NEW EMPHASIS FOR NEIGHBORHOOD RESEARCH

FRANK L. SWEETSER, JR.

Indiana University

Levels of *Neighborhood Interaction*. The thesis of this paper is that the study of neighborly interaction on a person to person level is essential to the understanding of the modern neighborhood. The traditional view that families are the units of neighborly interaction¹ has so dominated thinking in the field that we have almost no precise knowledge of the way in which residential location conditions the social relations of individual neighbors.² Yet it is obvious that neighbors individually create and participate in networks of relationships with members of neighbor families. In the writer's view, a new orientation which will emphasize rather than obscure such person to person interaction is the primary need of neighborhood research today.

While the idea of studying social relations among individual neighbors is a departure from traditional orientations, it is new only in carrying to a logical conclusion the implications of generalizations commonly made about neighborly relations, and in stressing a detailed type of analysis which has become increasingly popular during the last decade. Two generalizations clearly implying a need for the study of person to person relations among neighbors may be mentioned: first, that in the city, the "neighborhood" tends to disappear;³ and second, that in urban residential areas children are the "best" neighbors (i.e., best acquainted locally, and most thoroughly enmeshed in local relationships) of all family members, while mothers are next "best," and other family members decidedly "worse" as neighbors.⁴ In the first of these statements, what is meant by "neighborhood" is a residential grouping of families, members of which are mutually acquainted and stand in a cooperative relation to each other. Even though such "neighborhoods" become attenuated in cities—and that they do seems abundantly

¹ That this is the tradition will be recognized by those familiar with the literature. See, for example, the following: J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, 44, New York, 1935; Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community*, 6, Boston, 1932; Niles Carpenter, *The Sociology of City Life*, 241, New York, 1931; Stuart A. Queen and Lewis F. Thomas, *The City*, 296, New York, 1939; Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community*, 57, New York, 1938.

² *Neighbor*, as used throughout the article, refers merely to persons who live within a short distance of each other—a few blocks as maximum—regardless of whether or not any other than the spatial relationship exists between them.

³ This idea is widely expressed. See E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (3rd ed.), 143, New York, 1938; Daniel Snedden, "Neighborhoods and Neighborliness," *Social Forces*, V: 233 (December 1926); Niles Carpenter, *loc. cit.*; Niles Carpenter, "Neighborhood," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, XI: 357 (col. 1), New York, 1933.

⁴ See especially Marion W. Roper, *The City and the Primary Group*, 68-69, University of Chicago Libraries, Chicago, 1935; and Robert E. Park, "Juvenile Delinquency," in R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess, *et al.*, *The City*, 112, Chicago, 1925.

demonstrated—there is still room for person to person interaction among neighbors. These relationships must, however, be studied in their own terms, and not in terms of family to family interaction. If the second proposition holds generally for urban neighborhoods, the insufficiency of the family unit conception, and the need for the study of the single person as unit in neighborly relations, are both self-evident. Finally, recent stress on sociometric techniques, so revealingly applied to the study of interpersonal relations by Moreno and others,⁵ suggests that the minute analysis of social relations among individual neighbors may be well worth while.

Differentiation of Individuals' Neighborly Relations. If individuals are typically differentiated one from another with respect to their relations with neighbors in modern (i.e., urbanized⁶) residential situations, then the thesis that analysis of these differentiated relationships is essential to the understanding of modern neighborhood phenomena will be established. There is already an impressive body of evidence for this individualization of neighborly relations in metropolitan neighborhoods.⁷ That it is found in residential areas of smaller cities seems very likely, a priori, and that it may characterize urbanized open country neighborhoods also is indicated by some rural sociologists.⁸ Although the proposition that individuals are differentiated in their neighborly relations will seem obvious to many, its crucial importance requires the introduction of new evidence.

In Bloomington, Indiana, population 20,870, the writer recently undertook to identify precisely the neighboring acquaintances and associates of 54 individuals who made up nine tenths of the total population (men, women, and children) of a single square block.⁹ The block was located in a lower middle-class residential area, with single family detached houses

⁵ See J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive*, Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Number 58, Washington, 1934; and *Sociometry: A Journal of Inter-Personal Relations*, Beacon, N. Y.

⁶ This does not exclude rural areas; that rural areas are becoming increasingly urbanized is a sociological commonplace. See Robert M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology* 132-133, 139, New York, 1937; and Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, XLIV: 1-3, July 1938.

⁷ See M. W. Roper, *loc. cit.*; R. E. Park, *loc. cit.*; T. J. Jones, *The Sociology of a New York City Block*, 108, New York, 1904; Kimball Young, *A Sociological Study of a Disintegrated Neighborhood*, 94, ms. M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1918; Paul R. Conway, *The Apartment House Dweller*, 169-170, ms. M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1926; Harvey W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, 251, Chicago, 1929; Niles Carpenter, *loc. cit.*

⁸ See James Mickel Williams, who discusses the selective association made possible by the automobile in *The Expansion of Rural Life*, 154, New York, 1926; Carle C. Zimmerman and Carl C. Taylor, who failed "to find any geographic groups whose constituents shared identical face-to-face relations" in a 1922 study of Wake County, N. C. (quotation from Zimmerman's, *The Changing Community*, 68, italics his); Edmund deS. Brunner and J. H. Kolb, whose discussion of visiting contacts within and without country neighborhoods definitely implies differential association within the neighborhoods. See *Rural Social Trends*, 327, New York, 1933.

⁹ This study will be further described in a monograph, *Neighborhood Acquaintance and Association: A Study of Personal Neighborhoods*, to be privately printed early in 1942.

Omission of one tenth of the population was due to refusal of interviews by six persons.

predominating,¹⁰ and it may therefore be taken to represent a type of urban neighborhood which differs in important respects from the metropolitan neighborhoods studied by Roper.¹¹

Data were gathered by means of a scheduled interview in the course of which each informant was questioned in detail as to his relationships with every other resident of the block, and of the houses adjacent to it (but across the street) on all four sides. From each schedule, two lists of neighbors were compiled—a list of acquaintances, and a list of associates.¹² As each of the fifty-four informants was questioned about the same set of one hundred and forty-eight neighbors, direct comparisons of one informant's neighboring acquaintances or associates with those of another informant are possible, and will necessarily reveal whatever differentiation in these broadly defined relationships exists among the individuals studied.

Absence of individual differentiation must mean identity of neighboring acquaintances and associates, and this in turn requires that each informant possess the same number of acquaintances and associates. Thus, a tabulation of the numbers of acquaintances and associates of the fifty-four informants assumes considerable importance. Table 1 presents this tabulation. Remembering that the inclusion of all residents of the very limited area as acquaintances would mean the possession of over 140 acquaintances

TABLE 1. NUMBERS OF NEIGHBORING ACQUAINTANCES AND ASSOCIATES OF FIFTY-FOUR RESIDENTS OF A SINGLE SQUARE BLOCK

Number of Acquaintances or Associates	Number of Informants with Specified Numbers of	
	Acquaintances	Associates
1- 15	3	22
16- 30	3	15
31- 45	6	9
46- 60	6	5
61- 75	9	1
76- 90	10	1
91-105	6	1
106-120	8	—
121-135	3	—
Total	54	54
Median*	75	23

* Computed from ungrouped data.

¹⁰ Of twenty households, six were located in three double houses; fourteen, in single family houses.

¹¹ *Op. cit.* For a detailed description of the Bloomington area, see F. L. Sweetser Jr., *op. cit.* Chapter II.

¹² *Acquaintances* are those neighbors whom the informant recognized by name, sight, reputation, or observation, as living in a specific location near him. *Associates* are acquaintances with whom, as a minimum, the informant occasionally chatted informally.

by an informant, the first striking feature of the table is that none of the fifty-four persons studied is acquainted with all his neighbors. A second important characteristic of the first distribution is its wide dispersion: numbers of acquaintances range from 13 to 131, and are distributed along the entire range. The distribution of numbers of associates is concentrated at the lower end of the scale, with the maximum frequency in the first class interval and a regular decline in class frequencies thereafter. The median number of acquaintances, 75, is half the number of neighbors about whom informants were questioned; and the median number of associates, 23, is about a sixth of the number who might have been listed.

These wide differences in numbers of neighbors reported as acquaintances, and in numbers reported as associates, by individual residents of a single square block show immediately that most of the persons interviewed are differentiated from each other with respect to relations of acquaintance and association with neighbors. It is still necessary to ask, however, whether individuals with approximately the same number of acquaintances or associates may not include an identical set of neighbors in one or the other category, and thus fail to be differentiated in their neighborly relations. The question can be answered by comparing each list of acquaintances with every other, and each list of associates with every other. Such comparisons are most logically made for neighbors outside the households of the two informants involved, since neighborly relations are by definition relations with persons outside one's own household. Moreover, a difference of eight or more in the number of neighbors in two compared lists proves that the two individuals are differentiated with respect to their neighborly acquaintances or associates.¹³ Consequently, detailed comparisons need be made only for paired lists which differ in size by seven or less.

Comparing each acquaintance list with every other produces a total of 1431 paired comparisons, as does also the comparison of each associate list with every other.¹⁴ Table 2 shows the distribution of size differences for all pairs of acquaintance and associate lists. The very magnitude of the size differences for paired acquaintance lists, 69 per cent of the pairs differing by twenty acquaintances or more, provides a first suggestion that the degree of individual differentiation in neighborly acquaintanceship is very great.

¹³ Comparing the number of neighbors on the acquaintance or associate lists of two informants in different households might show a maximum difference of seven (the size of the largest household in which interviews were conducted) for lists identical outside the households of the two informants; but a difference greater than seven can result only from the non-identity of the two lists of neighbors.

¹⁴ Using the standard formula for combinations, $nC_r = \frac{n!}{r!(n-r)!}$, the number of combinations of 54 lists, taken 2 at a time, is $54C_2 = \frac{54!}{2!(52!)} = 1431$.

For the paired associate lists, only 43 percent differ by twenty associates or more, but, as will be shown, this does not mean that the individuals interviewed are less differentiated with respect to associates than with respect to acquaintances among their neighbors.

TABLE 2. SIZE DIFFERENCES FOR PAIRS OF ACQUAINTANCE LISTS AND FOR PAIRS OF ASSOCIATE LISTS

Size Difference	Number of Pairs of Lists	
	Acquaintance Lists	Associate Lists
0-7	165	347
8-19	283	466
0-19	448	813
20-39	396	403
40-59	300	139
60-79	172	48
80-99	90	25
100-119	25	3
Total	1431	1431

The 165 pairs of acquaintance lists, and the 347 pairs of associate lists with size differences of seven or less were compared, name by name, to discover whether any pair failed to show differentiation. It can be said immediately that no two lists of either type are identical. However, in order to arrive at some estimate of the degree of differentiation, a statistical measure, the *coefficient of comparative compositional uniqueness*, has been computed for these paired lists. The coefficient is a ratio between the total number of names appearing on one or the other of the lists compared (but not on both) and the total number of different names on both lists (counted once whether on both lists or on one list only).¹⁵ The formula for the coefficient

may be written $c.u. = \frac{b+c}{a+b+c}$ where:

c.u. = the coefficient of comparative compositional uniqueness;

a = the number of names on the first list which are also found on the second;

b = the number of names on the first list which are not repeated on the second;

c = the number of names on the second list which do not appear on the first.

The coefficient can vary between 0 and 1. If the lists were identical, the numerator would be 0, and the coefficient therefore 0; while if the lists are

¹⁵ Members of the households of the two informants compared are excluded from consideration.

completely different, a is 0, and the coefficient is therefore 1. Moreover, the size of the coefficient measures the degree of comparative compositional uniqueness (or of differentiation of acquaintance or association with neighbors) of the pair compared, since it increases from 0 to 1 as the number of neighbors known exclusively to one or the other of the individuals compared increases relative to the number known to both of them.

TABLE 3. COEFFICIENTS OF COMPARATIVE COMPOSITIONAL UNIQUENESS FOR PAIRS OF ACQUAINTANCE AND ASSOCIATE LISTS DIFFERING IN SIZE BY SEVEN OR LESS

Size of Coefficient	Number of Coefficients	
	Acquaintance Pairs	Associate Pairs
.0 ^a	0	0
.01-.20	11	0
.21-.40	66	2
.41-.60	40	11
.61-.80	35	80
.81-.99	13	187
1.00	0	67
Total	165	347
Highest Coefficient	.96	1.00
Lowest Coefficient	.10	.27
Median Coefficient	.44 ^b	.87 ^c

^a The irregular class intervals of 0, .81-.99, and 1.00 are employed to emphasize the particularly important features of the distributions.

^b Computed from data grouped as above.

^c Computed from grouped data with last two class intervals combined into one (size, .81-1.00; frequency, 254).

Coefficients for 165 acquaintance pairs, and for 347 association pairs are classified by size in Table 3. Since no coefficient is 0, this table completes the demonstration that each of the fifty-four individuals interviewed is differentiated from every other in acquaintance and association with his neighbors. The lowest coefficient being .10, it is also evident that the minimum degree of differentiation is, if not large, still considerable. That the typical differentiation is great, even for these approximately same sized lists,¹⁶ is shown by the median coefficients of .44 and .87 for acquaintance and associate pairs respectively. That the median for associate pairs is twice as large as that for acquaintance pairs indicates a much greater average differentiation of associates than of acquaintances for the 512 paired

¹⁶ The labor of computing the c.u. is so great that only those essential to the demonstration of individual differentiation have been presented. However, it is probable that had all the coefficients been computed for both acquaintance and associate lists, the medians would have been larger than they are for these approximately same sized pairs.

lists of the table, and probably also for all possible pairs of associate lists as compared to all possible pairs of acquaintance lists.¹⁷

It is worth emphasizing at this point that of the twenty households in the block studied, thirteen, with from two to seven members, were completely enumerated.¹⁸ The demonstration that each of the fifty-four persons interviewed is differentiated from every other in acquaintance and association is also a demonstration of differentiation for the several members of each of these thirteen households. The need for the study of interpersonal interaction as well as of interfamily interaction in this residential area is, therefore, quite evident: any study of neighborly relations involving these twenty households which failed to take individual differentiation in acquaintance and association into account would pass over completely what has been shown to be an outstanding characteristic of relations among these neighbors.

But can a similar general conclusion be drawn for all urbanized residential areas on the basis of this evidence? The writer thinks it can, first because the experimental investigation of fifty-four individuals' neighboring acquaintances and associates revealed so high a degree of typical differentiation; second, because no negative cases were found; and third, because the results are in exact accord with *a priori* expectations derived from general knowledge of urbanized society. Indeed, it is probably more pertinent to ask whether so elaborate a proof of the obvious is justified, than to question the general validity of the findings.

It would appear, then, that the following proposition may be accepted as valid: *individual residents of urbanized areas are differentiated from each other with respect to the neighbors with whom they are acquainted and with whom they associate*. A direct inference from this generalization establishes the thesis of the paper, viz., that the understanding of neighborly phenomena in the modern world requires the detailed study of social interaction among neighbors on a person to person level, as well as a consideration of family to family or person to family interaction.

The desirability of additional studies applying the same method as was used in the Bloomington area is not decreased by the acceptance of the conclusion just stated. There is every reason to suppose that the degree of individual differentiation in neighborly relations is a variable characteristic which, though present in all urbanized residential areas,¹⁹ might be expected

¹⁷ See footnote 16 above. There is no reason for supposing that the relative size of these medians would change significantly with the inclusion of more cases.

¹⁸ Of the twenty households in the block, five were incompletely enumerated because of the refusal of interviews by six individuals; two were "completely enumerated," but contained only one individual (elderly widow and elderly widower) each; while thirteen contained at least two members and were completely enumerated.

¹⁹ That small isolated areas of cities may occasionally contain a few families whose members all interact mutually on a person to person basis is recognized. This possibility ought to be explored with an eye to the modification of the above conclusion to allow for any apparently

to correlate positively with the degree of urbanization. This hypothesis can be tested only by the accumulation of comparable studies of residential areas differing in degree of urbanization from the Bloomington area. Such studies could also explore other aspects of interpersonal neighborly interaction, of which we are now almost totally ignorant, and which, apparently, must be investigated if the phenomena of neighborhood are to be adequately understood.²⁰

Some Implications. Two of the more important implications of the point of view outlined above may be described as a means of pointing up its possible significance.²¹

First, the need for a partial restatement of neighborhood theory in terms of person to person relations is plain. For example, it should no longer be possible to find (urbanized) "neighborhoods" described in introductory texts as both definite areas and primary groups.²² If the same "neighborhood" is both of these, the only intelligible meaning is that the entire population of the area participates reciprocally in primary relationships. This cannot occur in urbanized residential areas if, as has been shown, the individual residents are differentiated from each other in their acquaintance and association with neighbors. The erroneous impression arises, of course, from the confusion of two quite distinct concepts which bear the same label, "neighborhood": the areal neighborhood of the ecologists, and the primary group neighborhood of Cooley.²³

Second, a consistent explanation of the transmission of divergent social heritages (e.g., delinquent and nondelinquent) to close neighbors becomes possible in terms of the differential acquaintance and association of neighbors. Neighborhood phenomena consist in social relationships and cultural

exceptional cases; or to the refinement of the criteria for urbanization, which might exclude such areas from the category of urbanized areas even though they be located within city limits, thus sharpening the meaning of the generalization.

²⁰ In a forthcoming article, the writer plans to describe in detail a technique suitable for the investigation of some of these aspects of interpersonal neighborly relations.

²¹ A more elaborate development of these ideas is found in F. L. Sweetser, Jr., *op. cit.*, Chapter VI.

²² Because the writer wishes to avoid references which might be construed as invidious, no specific citations are made here. Any practicing sociologist can readily locate several general discussions of neighborhoods in introductory texts which, directly or by implication, state that they are both areas and primary groups.

²³ Incidentally, Cooley seems to have been widely misinterpreted on this point. Nowhere, in the often cited Chapter III of *Social Organization* (pp. 23-31, New York, 1909), does he assert that the total population of an area is a primary group. His unequivocal statement regarding the three universal primary groups is that they are the playgroup of the children, the family (including children and elders), and the "neighborhood or community group of elders." Cooley thus seems to have classified the universal primary groups on the basis of age (or generation), and to have assigned one (the playgroup) to children; a second (the family) to both children and elders; and a third (the neighborhood or community group) to elders. Obviously, examples of all three types of universal primary groups can exist in the same residential area; just as obviously, no one of them can be thought of as including the entire population of the area.

uniformities²⁴ among neighbors. It is axiomatic that the social heritage is transmitted via social relationships. Since, therefore, individuals are markedly differentiated with respect to interpersonal relations among their neighbors in urbanized residential areas, it is clear that insofar as they are influenced by a local culture they may be in contact with very different patterns, in spite of the propinquity (or even identity) of their residences. To illustrate concretely, the simultaneous existence in delinquency areas of delinquent and law-abiding traditions²⁵ may be thought of as reciprocally related to the differential acquaintance and association of individual neighbors. That some residents of such areas become delinquent, while others become law-abiding would then be expected: differential association with delinquents producing delinquency; and differential association with law-abiders producing law-abiding behavior.²⁶ A refinement of the cultural theory of delinquency which would account for the troublesome fact that many boys in the most delinquent areas fail to absorb the delinquent "tradition" and remain law-abiding is thus possible if the culture of the delinquency area be conceived in terms of the spatial interpenetration of a delinquent and a law-abiding tradition, perpetuated by differential acquaintance and association among neighbors.

That the processes of socialization and acculturation, as they operate in neighborhoods, may be expected to have much more subtle differential effects on behavior than those discussed above is apparent. More refined hypotheses must, however, await further research—research which will stress particularly the detailed description and close analysis of person to person relations among neighbors.

²⁴ The culture of residential areas will vary in homogeneity—all that is meant by this statement is that some uniformities among neighbors will be found.

²⁵ According to a statement of Edwin H. Sutherland to the writer, it is generally recognized that even in the worst delinquency areas, a very large proportion of the juvenile population is nondelinquent.

²⁶ The very close parallel between this formulation and E. H. Sutherland's theory of differential association as causally related to crime and delinquency (see his *Criminology* [3rd ed.] Chapter I, Philadelphia, 1939) will be apparent to most readers. The convergence of the two ideas, the one deriving from a study of modern neighborly relations, the other, from a study of crime and delinquency, seems to the writer to strengthen both the conception of neighborly relations here presented, and Sutherland's theory of crime causation.

Official Reports and Proceedings

IMPORTANT NOTICE

The Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society is to be held in Cleveland during the last week in December as previously announced. After consultation with representatives of the other social science groups and the Office of Defense Transportation, it has been decided to go ahead with our plans to hold these meetings. Because of the usual congestion in transportation facilities over a week-end, it has been suggested that the meetings might be held December 29-31, rather than December 28-30. This is now being checked with the local hotels as well as with the transportation agencies in Cleveland. With the exception of the possible change in date, however, it is our plan to go ahead with the meetings as originally scheduled.

DWIGHT SANDERSON, *President*
CONRAD TAEUBER, *Secretary*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL RESEARCH

The results of the 1942 Census of Research Projects conducted by the Society appear below. The classification of individual projects is based whenever possible on the author's own classification. The items in each section are arranged alphabetically by author. Cross references at the head of each section refer to the serial numbers of the individual projects and are limited by and large to those contained in the schedules. Descriptive statements, except when absolutely necessary to indicate the nature of the project, are omitted this year at the Editor's request. Lack of space makes this departure necessary.

In addition to the projects reported by members of the American Sociological Society, there are appended the results of a canvass made by the Committee on Social Research of projects of possible interest to sociologists now being conducted by various agencies of the federal government and by private research foundations.

The Committee is indebted to Henry D. Sheldon, Jr., for the analysis of the census returns accompanying this report.

Committee on Social Research: C. ARNOLD ANDERSON, WILSON GEE, NOEL P. GIST, HENRY D. SHELDON, JR., RAYMOND V. BOWERS, *Chairman*

ANALYSIS OF THE 1942 CENSUS OF RESEARCH

HENRY D. SHELDON, JR.
University of Rochester

This analysis is devoted primarily to a comparison of the responses to the 1942 questionnaire with those of the 1941 questionnaire insofar as the data are comparable. In the main, the same criteria and procedures of classification have been used. The principal differences are: the cross classification of questionnaire items by sections has been abandoned; new tables corresponding to new or revised schedule items have been set up, and certain sections of similar character have been combined, reducing the number of sections from seventeen to thirteen. The analysis appears in the following tables.

TABLE 1. PROJECTS BY SECTIONS FOR 1940, 1941 AND 1942*

Sections ¹	1940	1941	1942
All Sections	357	314	302
History and Theory ²	35	33	24
Methods of Research ³	16	31	26
Social Psychology ⁴	60	34	52
Population and Social Biology	26	28	35
Human Ecology	27	15	12
The Community	30	36	40
Rural Sociology	34	40	35
The Family	36	27	13
Criminology	23	16	27
Political Sociology	23	19	19
Sociology of Religion	7	7	5
Sociology and Social Work	19	11	2
Educational Sociology	21	17	12

* Tabulated from Census of Research, 1940, 1941, 1942.

¹ Prior to 1942, the census blank offered a check list of sections; this year it offered two free choices as to field of sociology or section title. Those blanks which indicated no section title (22) and those which indicated section title or field not included in the above list in either first or second choice (30) were assigned to sections by the committee. Out of a possible 604 first and second choices, there were 85 choices of section titles outside of the above list; these represent some 46 separate titles of which the most frequently appearing (5-10) were: Cultural Sociology, Urban Sociology, Race Relations, Social Pathology, and Social Organization.

² Including Theory of Social Problems.

³ Including Social Statistics and Sociometry.

⁴ Including Sociology and Psychiatry.

TABLE 2-A. MAIN CONTRIBUTIONS OF STUDY AS CHECKED BY RESPONDENTS*

Number of Contributions	All Contributions ¹	Testing Hypotheses	Clarifying Concepts	Describing Data	Other Contributions
Total ²	283	142	76	126	54
One	195	73	18	65	39
Two or more	88	69	58	61	15

* Tabulated from Item (b) of the 1942 Research Census blank.

¹ Of the 302 returns, 283 contained sufficient information for this tabulation. Since a single project on which more than one contribution is checked is tabulated in each of the contribution categories checked, the sums of the first and third rows are not equal to all "the contributions" total.

² Since the questionnaire item on which this tabulation is based differs from the parallel item in the 1941 blank, 1941 figures are not strictly comparable. However, a reworking of the 1941 data gives the following set of roughly comparable figures. Of the 314 projects reported in 1941, 244 contained sufficient information for tabulation; of these 175 reported testing hypothesis, 59 reported clarification of concepts, and 27 reported other contributions.

TABLE 2-B. TYPES OF MAIN CONTRIBUTIONS*

Hypotheses Tested		Concepts Clarified		Data Described	
Source	Num.	Source	Num.	Source	Num.
Total	142	Total	76	Total	126
Own	56	New	7	Unpublished	79
Other	23	Existing	36	Published	33
Both	47	Both	21		
No Information	16	No Information	12	No Information	14

* Tabulated from Item (b) in the 1942 Research Census Blank.

TABLE 3. TECHNIQUES AND SOURCES USED IN OBTAINING DATA*

Technique and Sources	Number of Projects Reported	
	1941	1942
Questionnaire	97	72
Constructed by Myself	58	52
Interview	131	144
Interview Schedule Used	80	85
Scale or Test	36	41
Constructed by Myself	25	29
Participant Observation	68	61
Non-Participant Observation	—	53
Statistical Sampling	92	79
Use of Documentary Sources:		
Government Documents	104	108
Unpublished Documents	92	68
Professional Periodicals & Monographs	107	73
Other	—	68
Techniques Other Than Those Listed Above	—	40
No Response	17	17

* Tabulated from Item (c) of 1941 and 1942 Census of Research Blanks.

• Item was not in 1941 blank.

TABLE 4. TYPES OF DATA USED BY PROJECTS—1941, 1942*

Year	Total Projects	Projects Using Documentary Sources Exclusively	Projects Using Nondocumentary Sources Exclusively	Projects Using Both Types of Sources	No Information
1941	314	71	96	129	18
1942	302	62	106	117	17

* Tabulated from Item (c) of 1941 and 1942 Census of Research blanks.

TABLE 5. TYPE OF ANALYSIS USED IN PROJECTS—1941, 1942

Year	Total Projects	Using Statistical Techniques	Not Using Statistical Techniques	No Information
1941	314	153	81	80
1942	302	181	73	48

TABLE 6. SPONSORSHIP AND RELATION TO LARGER PROJECTS*

Relation to Larger Projects	All Projects	Project Reported Sponsored by Research Organizations				Projects Reported Unsponsored
		Total	Public Agencies	Private Agencies	Universities	
Total	302	103	69	10	24	199
Reported as Part of Larger Project	63	47	36	5	6	16
Not Reported as Part of Larger Project	239	56	33	5	18	183

* Tabulated from Item (f) of 1942 Census of Research blanks.

TABLE 7. RELATIONSHIP OF PROJECTS TO WAR EFFORT*

All Projects	At Request of War Agency					Not at Request of Agency		
	Total	Federal	State	Local	More Than One	Total	Related to War Effort	Not Related to War Effort
302	10	5	2	1	2	292	112	180

* Tabulated from Item (g) of 1942 Census of Research blanks.

THE 1942 CENSUS OF RESEARCH

HISTORY AND THEORY (INCLUDING THEORY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS)

(See also: 48, 51, 57, 70, 76, 93, 98, 100, 111, 141, 178, 180, 187, 223, 267, 269, 271.)

1. **The Theoretical Setting for a Study of the Secular Mentality.** Harry Alpert, 720 Riverside Drive, New York City. Use of biographical and autobiographical materials.
2. **The Language of Sociology.** Robert Bierstedt, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York.
3. **Man—The Unique.** Rudolph M. Binder, R. D. 1, Newtown, Pennsylvania.
4. **A Statistical Analysis of Publishers' Best-Sellers as an Index of Cultural-Interest Trends.** Herbert A. Bloch, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y.
5. **Possibilities of a Caste System in America.** Oliver C. Cox, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas. Based on West Indies' field data.
6. **Social Effects of Compromise and Opportunism.** Lewis A. Dexter, 2810 Texas Avenue S.E., Washington, D. C.
7. **Sociological Aspects of Administration and Management: Deflections from the Staff Principle.** Lewis A. Dexter, 2810 Texas Avenue S.E., Washington, D. C.
8. **World Chaos.** Jerome Dowd, Norman, Oklahoma. A synthesis of data on history and art.
9. **The Prediction of Inventions and Their Effects.** S. Colum Gilfillan, 5623 S. Blackstone, Chicago, Illinois.
10. **Social Phases of Cooperative Insurance in the United States.** Harry C. Harmsworth, 1127 Los Angeles St., El Paso, Texas.
11. **Aspects of German Social Structure.** E. Y. Hartshorne, 105 Del Ray Ave., Bethesda, Md.
12. **The Theory of Social Institutions.** J. O. Hertzler, Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebr.
13. **The Role of the Peasant in Revolution.** William L. Kolb, Oklahoma A & M, Stillwater, Oklahoma. A study of German and Russian data from 1800 to 1922.
14. **Sacred and Secular Societies and Their Relation to Anomic Society.** William L. Kolb, Oklahoma A & M, Stillwater, Oklahoma.
15. **Social Security in Southeastern Asia.** Bruno Lasker, 64 Shelley Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.
16. **The Psycho-Social Hypothesis as an Explanation of the Fundamental Changes in Man's Basic Vital Behavior: in Marriage, Divorce, Births, Deaths, Infant Mortality, Illiteracy, etc.** Charles Margold, 401 D Street N.E., Washington, D. C.
17. **Ethnic Concepts in American Sociology.** Henry Miller, 660 East 242nd Street, New York City.
18. **Impact of the Present War upon the Principal Social Institutions.** Meyer F. Nimkoff, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.
19. **American Stratification: Its Relation to Social Movement and to Personality Disturbances.** Charles Hunt Page, 34 West 69th Street, New York City.
20. **Social Organization and National Defense: A Study of a Metropolitan Area.** Charles Hunt Page, 34 West 69th Street, New York City.
21. **Social Elements in the Formation of Theories of Biological Evolution.** John Edward Taylor, 168 Prospect Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
22. **Stephen Girard: A Sociologic Biography.** Harry Emerson Wildes, Valley Forge, Pa.
23. **An Analysis of the Field, Data, and Instruments (for study) of Social Adjustment.** Verne Wright, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
24. **European Culture Groups.** Florian W. Znaniecki, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

METHODS OF RESEARCH (INCLUDING SOCIAL STATISTICS AND SOCIOMETRY)

(See also: 16, 21, 53, 56, 62, 72, 84, 106, 107, 123, 125, 126, 127, 131, 139, 144, 163, 183, 192, 231, 251, 260, 272, 276, 300.)

25. **Analysis of Employment Indices and Their Relation to Relief Trends.** Robert Axel, Department of Social Welfare, 112 State Street, Albany, N. Y.
26. **The Construction of a Family-Pattern Scale.** Herbert A. Bloch, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y.
27. **Some Technical Aspects of the Problem of Control in Experimental Designs: Independence, Prediction, Partial Correlation, and Manual Matching.** F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

28. **Census Experience with Enumerators and Enumeration Problems.** Calvert L. Dedrick, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.
29. **Efficiency of Various Types of Sampling Designs for Estimating Population and Housing Items.** Calvert L. Dedrick, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.
30. **A Multiple-Factor Analysis of White-Negro Experiences.** Robert N. Ford, State College, Mississippi.
31. **1940 Census of Population (including unemployment) and Housing.** Philip M. Hauser, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.
32. **Indices of Human Welfare in Illinois.** D. E. Lindstrom, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.
33. **An Experiment to Determine the Influence of Interviewer Bias.** George A. Lundberg and Pearl Friedman, Bennington College, Bennington, Vermont.
34. **Objective Measurement of Social Economic Status of Selected Communities.** Julius Maller, 411 N. George Mason Drive, Arlington, Virginia.
35. **Construction of a County Level of Living Index for Ohio.** A. R. Mangus, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
36. **Effect of the War on Migration and Employment of Rural Youth.** A. R. Mangus, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. A follow-up study of Ross County, Ohio.
37. **Levels of Living and Social Achievement of Rural Youth.** A. R. Mangus, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
38. **Measurement of Attitude of Public Responsibility for Arming the War.** T. C. McCormick, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.
39. **Eye Conditions among Pupils in Schools for the Blind in the United States, 1940-1941.** Evelyn C. McKay, American Foundation for the Blind, 15 West 16th Street, New York City.
40. **The Construction of a Scale to Measure National Morale during War.** Delbert C. Miller, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington. A revision of the 1941 scale.
41. **Measurement of Social Participation.** Stuart A. Queen and Elbert L. Hooker, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.
42. **A Decade of Public Relief in New York State, 1932-1941.** David M. Schneider, Department of Social Welfare, Albany, N. Y.
43. **The Construction of Norms for a Sociometric Scale.** William H. Sewell, Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Oklahoma.
44. **A Reduced Form of the Farm Family Socioeconomic Scale.** William H. Sewell, Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Oklahoma.
45. **Analysis of Recorded Social Case Situations for Their Implications as to the Community Culture.** Mrs. Ada Eliot Sheffield, 31 Madison Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
46. **Jewish Contributions to American Leadership.** Mapheus Smith, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
47. **Urban Density.** H. Woolston, University of Washington.
48. **Administration of Conference and Group Discussion Situations.** Hobart N. Young, Stanford University, California.
49. **The Administration of Research Conferences.** Hobart N. Young, 660 Salvatierra Street, Stanford University, California.
50. **Measurement of Sociation, Status, and Adjustment in an Elementary School Classroom.** Leslie Day Zeleny, State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minnesota.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY (INCLUDING SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHIATRY)

(See also: 23, 30, 38, 50, 130, 143, 154, 162, 165, 229, 233, 235, 236, 258, 259, 263, 270, 292, 295.)

51. **Norwegian-American Assimilation: A Linguistic Analysis.** Odin W. Anderson, 1330 Wilmot Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
52. **Tests as Diagnostic Instruments in Clinical Practice.** Clairette P. Armstrong, Psychiatric Clinic, Domestic Relations Court, New York City.
53. **Committee Personnel in Rural Planning.** Howard W. Beers, Ky. Agr. Exp. Sta., Lexington, Kentucky.
54. **The Identification of One's Own Handwriting: A Study in Legal Psychology.** Steuart Henderson Britt and Ivan N. Mensh, George Washington University, Washington, D. C.

55. **Phybiological Investigation of the Neuromuscular Modifications Underlying Individual and Social Maladaptation.** Trigant Burrow, 27 East 37th Street, New York City.
56. **Further Standardization of a Scale to Measure Social Insight.** F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
57. **Public Opinion and Collectivism in the United States.** Carroll D. Clark, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
58. **From a Patriot to a Collaborator with the Enemy: a Case Study of Quislingism.** Bingham Dai, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. Collected at the Peiping Union Medical College 1937-38 after the Japanese occupation of Peiping.
59. **The Negro's Attitude Toward the Present World War.** Bingham Dai, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.
60. **Adolescent Status and the Individual with Special Reference to Schizophrenia.** N. J. Demerath, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.
61. **The Fantasy of Leadership.** Corrado DeSylvester, 5240 W. Congress St., Chicago, Ill.
62. **A Study Predicting the Length of Hospitalization of Mental Patients Carrying a Diagnosis of Schizophrenia or Manic Depressive Psychosis.** H. Warren Dunham, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan.
63. **Religion, Education, and Occupations.** S. Joseph Fauman, 3200 Boston Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan.
64. **Mass-Fiction 1920-1940, a Study in Magazine Contents.** Hans H. Gerth, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.
65. **Morton, Illinois, a Midwestern Community.** Hans H. Gerth, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.
66. **Newspaper Ownership of Radio Stations.** Milton Myron Gordon, 616 West 116th Street, New York City.
67. **Management Worker Relations: A Case Study of Prestige Factors in Industrial Relations.** Robert H. Guest, 69 Thomas Street, Portland, Maine.
68. **Some Factors Influencing the Attitude of College Students toward Jewish Students and Teachers.** Howard H. Harlan, University of Alabama, University, Alabama.
69. **A Test of the Hypothesis that Movie Attendance Is a "Compensatory Device" for Inadequate Social Adjustment.** Howard H. Harlan, University of Alabama, Alabama.
70. **The Definition of Personality for Purposes of Adjustment.** Hornell Hart, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.
71. **Race Prejudice.** Sister Mary Henry, Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois.
72. **A Controlled Analysis of the Relationship of Active Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities to the Scholastic Achievement and Social Adjustment of College Students.** Reuben Hill, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.
73. **Personality and Political Behavior: The Influence of Attitude toward Authority upon Political Rationality and upon Radical and Conservative Political Deviation in Various Income Groups.** Jerome Himelhoch, 25 Green Avenue, Madison, New Jersey.
74. **Social and Emotional Expansiveness in Interpersonal Relationships in Relation to the Phenomena of Isolation and Leadership.** Helen Hall Jennings, 1230 Amsterdam Avenue, New York City.
75. **Moral Judgments Relating to the Family.** Arthur Hosking Jones, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
76. **A Critical Evaluation of Mead's Concepts of the "I" and "Me."** William L. Kolb, Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Oklahoma.
77. **How the Lives of the Congressmen Conditioned New Deal Legislation.** J. H. Landman, College of the City of New York.
78. **Effect of the War Declaration on the National Morale of American College Students.** Delbert C. Miller, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.
79. **Drug Intoxication and Psychosis.** Mrs. Elizabeth Proehl Moore, 112 Warwick Road, West Newton, Massachusetts.
80. **Mobility and Family Composition in Relation to the Etiology of Mental Disorders.** Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.
81. **Social Aspects of Radio.** Martin H. Neumeyer, 3551 Univ. Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
82. **The Western-Returned and Modern (Westernized) Educated Chinese Student up to 1925.** Maurice T. Price, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

83. **The Japanese in the United States, 1852-1942.** John Adrian Rademaker, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.
84. **The Changing Social Relationships and Status of the Japanese-Americans with Special Reference to the Influence of International Relations between Japan and the United States 1939 to date.** John Adrian Rademaker, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.
85. **DAMN: A Dictionary of the American Minorities' Neurosis.** Ira DeA. Reid, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia. A glossary of racial and national lingo common but not commonly known; a book of etiquette on how to deal with minorities.
86. **Attitudes toward Racial Residential Segregation.** Edgar A. Schuler, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
87. **Effects of an Educational Radio Project on Pan-America Designed for Upper Elementary School Pupils.** Edgar A. Schuler, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
88. **A Recent Epidemic of Hysteria in a Louisiana High School.** Edgar A. Schuler and Vernon J. Parenton, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
89. **Studies of European Short-Wave Radio Listening in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.** Edgar A. Schuler, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
90. **The V for Victory Phenomenon.** Edgar A. Schuler, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Origin and development.
91. **Social Backgrounds of the Mentally Psychotic.** Maurice Pierre Schulte, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
92. **A Comparative Study of Selected Attitudes of Rural and Urban Young Women.** William H. Sewell and Eleanor Amend, Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Oklahoma.
93. **The Psychology of the Corporate Act.** Mapheus Smith, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
94. **Observations on the Use of Chest Therapy in the Case of an Adolescent Boy.** Samuel M. Strong, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
95. **Domestic Foreign-Language Broadcasting.** Edward Allen Suchman, 114 West 61st Street, New York City. Interviews with 400 Italians in New York City.
96. **High School Boys' and Girls' Activities and Interests in Leisure Time and Leadership.** T. Earl Sullenger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska.
97. **Propaganda and Morale Plays in Red Army Theatres in USSR.** Ina Telberg, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
98. **Social Images: A Study of the Counterimages of Communistic and Capitalistic Groups.** Clarence Earle Vrooman, 95 Christopher Street, New York City.
99. **Incest Behavior and Family Organization.** S. Kirson Weinberg, 5245 Ingleside Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Illinois incestuous families, 1920-41.
100. **War Morale and Service Centers.** Verne Wright, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
101. **The Mormon Polygynous Family.** Kimball Young, Queens College, Flushing, N. Y.
102. **Social Roles of University Students.** Florian Znaniecki, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

POPULATION AND SOCIAL BIOLOGY

(See also: 16, 37, 46, 83, 84, 138, 170, 196, 204, 210, 221, 230.)

103. **Population Trends in New York State 1900-1940.** W. A. Anderson, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
104. **Survey of Defense Migration.** Richard Ashby, 1730 M Street N.W., Washington, D. C.
105. **The Growth of Population in Kentucky, 1860-1940.** Howard W. Beers, Ky. Agr. Exp. Sta., Lexington, Kentucky.
106. **Rural Fertility in Johnson and Robertson Counties, Kentucky.** Howard W. Beers, Ky. Agr. Exp. Sta., Lexington, Kentucky.
107. **Rural Mobility in Johnson and Robertson Counties, Kentucky.** Howard W. Beers, Ky. Agr. Exp. Sta., Lexington, Kentucky.
108. **Migration into the Western Washington Cut-Over Areas, 1930-1941.** David B. Carpenter, Wartime Civil Control Administration, Room 455, Whitcomb Hotel, San Francisco, California.
109. **Wartime Migration into the Hampton Roads Area of Virginia.** John A. Clausen, 5018 Bromley Lane, Richmond, Virginia.

110. *Age, Propinquity, and Previous Marital Status as Factors in Marital Selection in Rural Pennsylvania, 1885-1940.* Kingsley Davis, Penn. State College, State College, Pa.
111. *Population and Social Organization in Puerto Rico.* Kingsley Davis, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.
112. *Estimated Number of Natives without Birth Registration, by Age, Sex, and State of Birth.* Calvert L. Dedrick, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.
113. *United States Life Tables.* Calvert L. Dedrick, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C. For the decade 1930-39, by color, sex, and rural-urban residence.
114. *Study of Population Pressure.* Allen D. Edwards, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia.
115. *Social Selection in Migrations and Occupational Choice.* Noel P. Gist, C. T. Pihl-bland, C. L. Gregory, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.
116. *The Industrial and Occupational Structure of the Population of Louisiana.* Rudolf Heberle, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. Based on censuses of 1930 and 1940.
117. *Differentials in Internal Migration.* Albert H. Hobbs, U. of Pa., Philadelphia, Pa.
118. *Specificity and Selective Migration.* Albert H. Hobbs, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Migrants to and from a Pennsylvania anthracite town, 1927-37, with a control group of nonmigrants.
119. *German Population Policies, 1933-1939; A Sociological and Statistical Appraisal of National Socialist Attempts to Stimulate Population Growth.* Dudley Kirk, Office of Population Research, Princeton, New Jersey.
120. *Out and Return Migration from Rural Areas in Connection with National Defense.* Paul H. Landis, 318 New Science, Pullman, Washington.
121. *Hereditary and Acquired Attributes of Celebrated People.* J. H. Landman, College of the City of New York, New York City. Based on 1500 longest biographies in the *Dictionary of American Biographies*.
122. *Population Trends in the U.S.S.R.* Frank Lorimer, Office of Population Research, Princeton, New Jersey.
123. *Fertility, Mortality, and Migration of the Rural Population of Ohio.* A. R. Mangus, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
124. *Problems Connected with the Increase of the Aged in Rural Ohio.* A. R. Mangus, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
125. *Measurement of Optimum Farm Population in Wisconsin.* T. C. McCormick, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.
126. *Migration Patterns of the Open-Country Population in Oklahoma.* Robert T. McMillan, Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Oklahoma.
127. *Relationship of Migration and Socioeconomic Status of Open-Country Families in Oklahoma.* Robert T. McMillan, Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Oklahoma.
128. *Fertility and Migration of Population of Kentucky Counties, 1920 to 1940, as Influenced by Factors of Rurality and Economic Development.* Merton Oyler, Ky. Agr. Exp. Sta., Lexington, Kentucky.
129. *Social Status as a Quantitative Factor in Mobility of Farm Population of Two Kentucky Communities.* Merton Oyler, Ky. Agr. Exp. Sta., Lexington, Kentucky.
130. *The French-Canadian Americans in New England.* John A. Rademaker, Mrs. Elizabeth Spencer Rademaker, Anders M. Myhrman, and Mildred Beckman Myhrman. Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.
131. *The Population of New England.* John Adrian Rademaker, 173 Wood Street, Lewiston, Maine (Bates College).
132. *Distance from Urban Centers as a Factor in the Growth or Decline of Incorporated Hamlets or Villages, 1930-40.* S. C. Ratcliffe, Illinois Wesleyan Univ., Bloomington, Ill.
133. *Size as a Factor in the Growth or Decline of Incorporated Hamlets and Villages, 1930-1940.* S. C. Ratcliffe, Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Illinois.
134. *Factors Related to the Distribution of Medical Services in Mississippi.* Gilbert A. Sanford, University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi.
135. *Population Trends in Seattle.* Calvin F. Schmid, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
136. *Intelligence of University Students by Occupation of Father.* Mapheus Smith, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
137. *Population Change in Warren County, Ohio.* Ray E. Wakeley, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.

HUMAN ECOLOGY

(See also: 86, 108, 128, 135, 161, 170, 211, 280.)

138. **Recent Social Changes in the Southern Appalachian Mountains.** Paul F. Cressey, Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts.
139. **Statistical Delineation of Major Regions of the United States.** Margaret Jarman Hagood, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
140. **United Nations and Unified Science.** Edward F. Haskell, 5610 Dorchester Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
141. **A Study of Wisconsin Ethnic Groups.** George W. Hill, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.
142. **Social Factors Related to Erosion in the Scantic River Valley, Conn.** J. L. Hypes, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut.
143. **Regional Distribution of Types of Mental Disorder in Washington.** Henry J. Meyer, The State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.
144. **Urban and Suburban Patterns of Personal Disorganization.** Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.
145. **Rootedness and Mobility: A Study of the Polish Peasant in Transition.** Peter Andrew Ostafin, 300 Williams House, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
146. **Ecology of Voting Behavior: Economic and Social Correlates of Voting Behavior.** Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.
147. **Racial Residential Ecology in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.** Edgar A. Schuler, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
148. **Divorce Rates in the Counties of the State of Washington.** H. Ashley Weeks, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.
149. **The Intramobility of Ethnic Groups in an Urban Community.** Kennett W. Yeager, 5881 Marlborough Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

COMMUNITY

(See also: 1, 11, 18, 19, 20, 24, 34, 74, 108, 147, 191, 201, 206, 207, 208, 242, 244, 253, 265, 266, 283, 291.)

150. **A Community Study: Rural and Urban.** B. W. Aginsky, 8 West 13th Street, New York City.
151. **Voluntary Control in the Advertising Industry.** Edward Jackson Baur, 5647 Dorchester Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
152. **The Italians of Newark: A Community Study.** Charles W. Churchill, 9 Oxford Street, Newark, New Jersey.
153. **Tennessee: A Social Study.** William E. Cole, Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
154. **The Development of Social Ideals in Grinnell, Iowa.** Laetitia M. Conard, 1310 Elm Street, Grinnell, Iowa.
155. **The Class Structure in Puerto Rico.** Kingsley Davis, The Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.
156. **Race Relations in Hong Kong.** Richard C. Davis, 908 West Beaver Avenue, State College, Pennsylvania.
157. **Housing and Related Problems Created in Communities by the Defense Industries Program.** Mabel A. Elliott, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
158. **Housing as Related to Relief Clients in Lawrence, Kansas.** Mabel A. Elliott, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
159. **Social Processes in Greendale, Wisconsin, a Government Planned Community.** George W. Hill, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.
160. **The Collective Action Involved in the Shawneetown Flood Removal Project.** Robert W. Janes, Urbana, Illinois.
161. **Settlement of Mexican Immigrants in the Chicago Area.** Robert C. Jones, 36 E. Hickory Street, Lombard, Illinois.
162. **Social Psychological Analysis of a Small Community.** Harold Kaufman, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
163. **Community Relationships of Rural Families in an Area of Forced Emigration.** Morton King, Jr., Box 126, State College, Mississippi.

164. **Rural Project of the American Youth Commission.** E. L. Kirkpatrick, American Youth Commission, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
165. **Social Patterns in a Rural Township.** George A. Lundberg and Mary Achilles, Bennington College, Bennington, Vermont.
166. **War Boom Towns.** Harry Estill Moore, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.
167. **A Study of Trailer Camps in Defense Areas.** Theodore L. Noss, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.
168. **Foreman Training.** Paul Pigors, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
169. **Labor Relations Problems in Connection with Multiple Shift Operation.** Paul Pigors, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
170. **Population Changes in Cincinnati, by Census Tracts, 1900 to 1940.** James A. Quinn, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.
171. **Survey of Recreational Activities and Facilities in Lewiston-Auburn, Maine.** John Adrian Rademaker, 173 Wood Street, Lewiston, Maine (Bates College).
172. **John Canoe: A Negro Folk Festival.** Ira DeA. Reid, Atlanta Univ., Atlanta, Ga.
173. **The Impact of War upon an Urban Neighborhood.** John Winchell Riley, New Jersey College for Women, New Brunswick, New Jersey.
174. **The Problem of the Negro in American Democracy.** Arnold M. Rose, 5510 S. Sangamon Street, Chicago, Illinois.
175. **Fincastle, Virginia, 1772-1942: A Study of Small Town Life.** Ernest C. Snyder, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia.
176. **The Administration of Minimum Wage Legislation in New York State.** David Kenneth Spiegel, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.
177. **Total Impact of the War upon Ameriton, U.S.A.** Leo Srole, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.
178. **Social Types in the Negro Community of Chicago: An Example of the Social Type Method.** Samuel M. Strong, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
179. **Factual Social Data on Omaha.** T. Earl Sullenger, Univ. of Omaha, Omaha, Neb.
180. **Acculturation of an Arab-Syrian Community in the Deep South.** Afif I. Tannous, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
181. **Local Effects of Defense Projects near Radford, Virginia.** Leland B. Tate, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia.
182. **Community Participation Control.** E. D. Tetreau, Univ. of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz.
183. **American Motor Car Use.** C. C. Van Vechten, 9409 Thornhill Rd., Silver Spring, Md.
184. **Rural Community Organization and Functioning.** Ray Wakeley, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.
185. **Community Bibliography, 1930-1941.** Walter T. Watson and Kurt H. Wolff, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.
186. **A Study of Social Organization and Disorganization in the Slum District.** William F. Whyte, 6102 S. Dorchester Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
187. **The Functioning of Leadership.** Sanford Winston, University of North Carolina, Raleigh, North Carolina.
188. **The Nature of the Rehousing Process.** David Yentis, 3000 Lee Highway, Arlington, Virginia.
189. **Housing Analysis for Urban Redevelopment.** David Yentis, 3000 Lee Highway, Arlington, Virginia.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

(See also: 13, 43, 44, 92, 114, 115, 120, 137, 163, 164, 182, 184, 288.)

190. **A Case Study of a Rural Resort Community.** Daniel E. Alleger, 296 Washington Street, East Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania.
191. **Social Participation of Farm Families.** W. A. Anderson, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
192. **Measurement of Social Participation.** W. A. Anderson, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
193. **Rural Youth Surveys.** O. E. Baker, Bur. of Agri. Eco., Washington, D. C.
194. **High School Children as a Source of Farm Labor.** Frances Biddle Bettie, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.

195. **The Rural Church in China and the United States: A Comparative Study.** Samuel C. I. Chu, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia.
196. **Characteristics and Trends of Pennsylvania Population.** Howard R. Cottam, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.
197. **Housing Facilities and Housing Satisfaction.** Howard R. Cottam, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.
198. **Early Economic and Social Life of Kansas Territory.** Arthur T. Donohue, 1710 Broadway, New Orleans, Louisiana.
199. **Occupational Adjustments of Virginia Rural Youth.** Allen D. Edwards, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia.
200. **Study of Farm Family Income in Relation to Patterns of Living and Quality of Land.** Allen D. Edwards, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia.
201. **The Organization of Selected Rural Communities in Michigan.** Duane L. Gibson, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.
202. **The Resources and Opportunities of Rural Youth in Branch County, Michigan.** Duane L. Gibson, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.
203. **Sociological Factors Affecting the Degree of Responsiveness to Agricultural Extension Work in Michigan.** Duane L. Gibson, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.
204. **Social Significance of Recent Population Trends in North Carolina.** C. Horace Hamilton, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.
205. **Types of Land Tenure in Relation to Recent Agricultural Changes.** C. Horace Hamilton, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.
206. **Social Factors Affecting Participation of Farmers in Agricultural Extension Work.** C. R. Hoffer, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.
207. **National Minority Groups in Rural Michigan.** Paul Honigsheim, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.
208. **The Adequacy of Institutional Facilities in Eddy County, New Mexico.** Sigurd Johansen, New Mexico State College, State College, New Mexico.
209. **Social Trends in Country Neighborhoods and in Town-Country Relationships.** J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.
210. **A Restudy of Drought Migrants.** Paul H. Landis, Wash. State College, Pullman, Wash.
211. **Land Resources and Land Use Planning in Relation to Rural Youth.** D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.
212. **Purpose, Programs, Functions, Activities, Difficulties, and Accomplishments of Rural Organizations.** D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.
213. **A Study of the Relation between the Extent of Soil Fertility Depletion and Erosion and the Movement and Character of Farm Population in Illinois.** D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.
214. **A Study of the Trend in the Number, Kinds, and Membership of Rural Organization Functioning in Illinois.** D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.
215. **A Study of Trends and Present Forces Influencing the Participation of Farm People in Rural Organizations.** D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.
216. **Washington Rural Churches: Their Membership Trends, Financial Status, and Supporting Attitudes.** Carl F. Reuss, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.
217. **Types of Families Residing on Marginal and Submarginal Land.** Dwight Sanderson, 308 Warren Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
218. **Mexican Rural Social Change, 1910-1940.** Clarence Senior, Board of Economic Warfare, Room 7620, Commerce Building, Washington, D. C.
219. **Participation of Rural Young Married Couples in Group Activities.** William M. Smith, Jr., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
220. **Lebanon: A Virginia Community.** Leland B. Tate, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia.
221. **Laborer Population in Arizona Available for Farm Employment.** E. D. Tetreau, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.
222. **Leaders and Leadership in Music and Drama Programs in 15 Rural Iowa Counties.** Ray Wakeley, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.
223. **Pioneer Social Adaptation in Lincoln County, Washington.** Fred R. Yoder, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.

224. **Status and Trends of the Rural Church in Skagit County, Washington.** Fred R. Yoder, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.

FAMILY

(See also: 26, 110, 148, 167, 173.)

225. **The Japanese-American Family in the War.** Leonard Bloom, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California.
226. **Factors in Marital Adjustment.** Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
227. **Marriage, Divorce, and Concubinage in Puerto Rico.** Kingsley Davis, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.
228. **Indices of Cost of Minimum Food Requirements for Adequate Diets in Oklahoma and the Same Kinds and Quantities of Food in 51 Cities of the United States.** Grace Fernandes, Department of Public Welfare, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
229. **Class Differences in Parent-Child Relations.** Edith Freeman, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
230. **Changes in Family Composition between 1930 and 1940.** Paul C. Glick, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.
231. **Courtship Status and Some Related Factors.** Hornell Hart, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.
232. **A Study of Campus Codes with Regard to Mate Selection and Courtship Behavior at Wisconsin.** Reuben Hill, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.
233. **Factors in Marital Adjustment: A Comparison of Data on Divorced and Married Samples.** Harvey J. Locke, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.
234. **The Second Choices of Previously Married People.** William G. Mather, Franklin College, Franklin, Indiana.
235. **Familial Factors in Sexual Inversion.** Harriet R. Mowrer, 727 Monticello Place, Evanston, Illinois.
236. **The War and Marriage Adjustment.** Harriet R. Mowrer, 727 Monticello Place, Evanston, Illinois.
237. **The Family in Colonial Virginia: A Study of the Typical Incidents of Family Life in Virginia During the 17th and 18th Centuries.** A. A. Rogers, Box 285, Middlesex University, Waltham, Massachusetts.

CRIMINOLOGY

238. **Rehabilitation of Criminals.** Viola Florence Anderson, 52 Anderson Avenue, Port Richmond, Staten Island, N.Y.
239. **A Functional Classification of Criminal Behavior, or (A Functional Nosology of Criminality).** Walter Webster, Argow, 694 Sunset Road, Teaneck, New Jersey.
240. **The Draper Prison Way.** John Newton Baker, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia.
241. **Juvenile Delinquency in Wisconsin.** Morris G. Caldwell, Department of Public Welfare, Madison, Wisconsin.
242. **Juvenile Delinquency in Appleton, Wisconsin, 1926-1940.** George A. Douglas, 720 East Alton Street, Appleton, Wisconsin.
243. **An Analysis of the Institutional Population in the United States.** Paul C. Glick, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.
244. **Washington State Correctional Institutions as Communities.** Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.
245. **Community Readjustment of 700 Delinquents.** Arthur Vincent Huffman, Illinois State Training School for Boys, St. Charles, Illinois.
246. **The Negro and Homicide: A Study of Intraracial and Interracial Murder.** Guy B. Johnson, Box 652, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
247. **The Educational Experiences of 281 Prisoners at Michigan State Reformatory at Ionia.** Rupert C. Koeniger, Central Michigan College, Mount Pleasant, Michigan.
248. **Research in Crime and Delinquency in the State of Maryland.** Peter P. Lejins, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.
249. **An Analysis of Parole Research.** Alfred C. Schnur, 834 Silliman Avenue, Lawrence Park, Erie, Pennsylvania.

250. **The Influence of Educational Treatment of Prisoners in the Wisconsin State Prison on Success after Release on Parole and on Success in Post-Parole Adjustment.** Alfred C. Schnur, 834 Silliman Avenue, Lawrence Park, Erie, Pennsylvania.
251. **A Survey of Juvenile Delinquency in Zanesville, Ohio.** I. V. Shannon and D. W. Oberdorfer, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.
252. **Criminal Careers of Former Juvenile Delinquents.** Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, 907 South Wolcott Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
253. **Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas.** Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, 907 South Wolcott Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
254. **Study of Delinquency and Nationality.** Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, 907 South Wolcott Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
255. **Activity Group Treatment of Problem School Boys.** Harry Manuel Shulman, College of the City of New York, New York City.
256. **White Collar Criminality.** Edwin H. Sutherland, Indiana Univ., Bloomington, Ind.
257. **Crime and Delinquency in Ogden, Utah, and in Rural Residence Types of Six Utah Counties, 1932-37.** Joseph N. Symons, Utah State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah.
258. **Attitudes toward Law and Order in a Delinquency Area as Compared to Those in a Non-Delinquency Area.** H. Ashley Weeks, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.
259. **Morale in the Delinquency Area as Compared with Morale in a Non-Delinquency Area.** H. Ashley Weeks, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.
260. **Predicting Juvenile Delinquency** (Carried out with the aid of a grant from the Social Science Research Council). H. Ashley Weeks, State College of Wash., Pullman, Wash.
261. **Predicting Juvenile Recidivists.** H. Ashley Weeks, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.
262. **Trends in Delinquency Rates Since the Advent of War.** H. Ashley Weeks, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.
263. **The Lone Offender.** S. Kirson Weinberg, 5245 Ingleside Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
264. **A Study of Young Negro Federal Parolees.** Sanford Winston, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

(See also: 6, 7, 13, 15, 24, 54, 73, 77, 82, 89, 90, 97, 176, 177, 289.)

265. **Survey of Town Farming in the Great Plains.** Richard Ashby, 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
266. **Present Need of Cooperation of the Social Sciences, for Developing a Suggested Plan of Social Order.** Charles J. Bushnell, University of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio.
267. **Concepts and Methods of Geopolitics.** Werner I. Cahnman, 5215 Dorchester Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
268. **The History of Prison Labor Legislation in New York State.** Miss Margaret Callaghan, St. Joseph College, West Hartford, Connecticut.
269. **Civil Liberties and Social Experimentation on Democratic Beliefs.** Lewis A. Dexter, 2810 Texas Avenue, S.E., Washington, D. C.
270. **Problems of Post-War Reconstruction.** Lewis A. Dexter, 2810 Texas Avenue, S.E., Washington, D. C.
271. **Sociopsychological Warfare (Grand Strategy and Power Politics in Terms of In-Group Out-Group Relationships).** Lewis A. Dexter, 2810 Texas Ave., S.E., Washington, D. C.
272. **Inductive Study of Factors in the Growth of Collective Enterprise.** Seba Eldridge (and 29 collaborators), University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
273. **Organized Labor and the Public Welfare: A Study of Participation of American Labor in the Social Legislation of 1930-1940.** Mildred Fairchild, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.
274. **Relationship Between Political Issues and Vote Intentions in a Presidential Election.** Morton F. Fosberg, 575 West 189th Street, New York City.
275. **Total War.** R. M. Johnson, Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio.
276. **Integrative and Disintegrative Factors in Federal Organization and Their Significance for the Planning of International Organization.** Werner S. Landecker, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

277. **Spanish American Relations.** Charles P. Loomis, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
 278. **An Early American Methodology for the Study of Volitional Action and the Division of Power.** William C. Loring, Jr., 9 Crescent Avenue, Newton Center, Massachusetts.
 279. **The Suitability of Democratic Representative Government for Present-Day China.** Maurice T. Price, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.
 280. **Political Movements in the State of Minnesota.** Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.
 281. **War, State, and Army.** Arthur Schweitzer, Univ. of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.
 282. **Nonmaterial Cultural Factors Affecting Production in Mexico.** Clarence Senior, Board of Economic Warfare, Room 7620, Commerce Building, Washington, D. C.
 283. **Local Government and Community Cohesion.** Luke M. Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

(See also: 216, 224, 297.)

284. **The Development of a Sociology of Religion.** V. E. Daniel, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.
 285. **Risks of Culture.** Ludwig F. Freund, 634 South Grove Street, Ripon, Wisconsin.
 286. **Recent Trends Among Religious Organizations.** Paul C. Glick, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.
 287. **Madison, Wisconsin—Population and Selected Institutions.** T. C. McCormick, Sterling Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.
 288. **Life Cycle of the Rural Church.** Francis McLennan Vreeland, DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

(See also: 124, 171.)

289. **The Reorganization of Public Welfare in Michigan: A Study of the Transformation of a Social Institution.** Ernest B. Harper and Duane L. Gibson, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.
 290. **Volunteer Activity of Undergraduate Seniors.** Sister Mary Henry, Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois.

EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

(See also: 39, 78, 250, 255.)

291. **Deafness and the Deaf in the United States.** Harry Best, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.
 292. **The Relation of Certain Social Factors to Teaching Ability.** Wilbur Brookover, Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Indiana.
 293. **Community Study and the Curriculum for Institutions of Higher Education in Western North Carolina.** Joseph H. Bunzel, Asheville College, Asheville, N. C.
 294. **War Service Opportunities for College and University Students.** M. M. Chambers, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
 295. **Intergroup Antagonism and Intercultural Education in Four School Settings.** Stewart G. Cole, Service Bureau for Intercultural Education, 221 West 57th Street, New York City.
 296. **Social Role of the Motion Pictures in an Interstitial Area.** Paul G. Cressey, 132 McCosh Road, Upper Montclair, New Jersey.
 297. **American Mission Colleges Abroad.** J. Elliott Fisher, 1354 Kensington Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah.
 298. **Women After College.** Robert O. Foster, 71 East Ferry Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
 299. **An Evaluation of the Work Experience of N.Y.A. and Non-N.Y.A. Part-Time Working Students in the Akron High Schools, with Special Reference to the Sociological Implications.** Byron L. Fox, N.Y.A., 1967 East 57th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
 300. **A Study of Enrollment Statistics of Blind Pupils in the United States.** Evelyn C. McKay, American Foundation for the Blind, Inc., 15 West 16th Street, New York City.
 301. **Consumer Education in the Elementary Schools.** Harry F. Weber, State Teachers College, Lock Haven, Pennsylvania.
 302. **Characteristics of Negro High School Graduates in a Selected City.** Ellen Winston, Meredith College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

TOO LATE TO BE CLASSIFIED

The Planning and Management of International Social Services in Relation to Post-War Reconstruction. Hertha Kraus, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

Fayetteville (Ark.) Housing Survey. Austin VanderSlice, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas.

The Sociology of Primitive Religion. William J. Goode, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.

Underenumeration in the Puerto Rican Censuses. William J. Goode, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.

PROJECTS IN PROGRESS UNDER FEDERAL AGENCIES
AND RESEARCH FOUNDATIONSI. DIV. OF FARM POP. AND RURAL WELFARE,
BUR. AGRI. ECO., U. S. DEPT. OF AGRI.

During the past year, the activities of the Div. of Farm Pop. and Rural Welfare of the Bur. Agri. Eco., USDA, have been concentrated on a program pertinent to first the defense, and more recently, the war effort. These activities are specific assignments under the Bureau's wartime work program, and, except as they may be modified or expanded by changing conditions, will be continued for the duration.

The work lies in four fields: (1) farm labor; (2) civilian participation; (3) community organization; and (4) farm population estimates. They may be briefly described as follows.

1. *Farm Labor.*

- a. Analyses of the national farm labor force: size; composition; distribution; and employment status. Locations of underemployed manpower and methods of securing its utilization. Considerations of available labor force which are to be taken into account in establishing agricultural production goals.
- b. Spot surveys of local supply-demand situations in critical areas and war crops.
- c. General informational and investigational assistance to State USDA War Boards and Farm Labor Committees.
- d. Methods of economizing labor on the farm: arrangements for systematic exchange of hired and family labor and labor-saving equipment among the farms within a neighborhood.
- e. Locating and reporting upon instances of successful neighborhood and community action towards the solution of farm labor problems.
- f. Determinations of the relative economic position of hired farm labor in the changing income situation for agriculture.

2. *Civilian Participation.*

- a. Surveys of attitudes toward agricultural programs and of the factors affecting participation of farmers in agricultural programs.
- b. Analyses of psychological obstacles to increased production of foods and fibers needed in greater amounts for the war effort.
- c. Studies to facilitate the introduction of new agricultural practices as a means for coping with wartime shortages of supplies.
- d. Studies to determine the extent to which farmers are receiving the information they need to adjust their farm enterprises to wartime demand.
- e. Study of morale in rural areas and its effects upon participation in war programs.

3. *Community Organization.* Assisting local, state and federal agencies in the following.

- (a) training agency personnel in techniques and procedures in delineating natural social groupings (neighborhoods and communities);
- (b) analyzing the effectiveness of group organization and action in agriculture's wartime assignments;
- (c) providing technical and advisory assistance in the selection and training of volunteer leaders who have the responsibility for analyzing and interpreting the wartime programs to the neighborhood groups.
- (d) making available to the Office of Civilian Defense, information and technical assistance on methods and procedures of rural community mobilization whereby defense programs may be adequately integrated at the local level;

- (e) in cooperation with Farm Security Administration, developing plans for organizing low income families into effective groups as a means of aiding the FSA cooperative program;
- (f) in cooperation with the Office of Civilian Defense and Office of Government Reports, analyzing weekly county newspapers from 36 sample areas for the purpose of determining how well wartime programs are reaching rural people and how effectively rural organizations are securing participation of rural people in such programs.

4. *Farm Population Estimates.*

Annual estimates of farm population and of movement to and from farms are being continued. In addition, analyses are made of rural areas in which there is underemployment and from which manpower could be recruited for more productive employment. These are based largely on Census data and are supplemented by quick field checks.

II. CHILDREN'S BUREAU, U. S. DEPT. OF LABOR

1. The Children of Agricultural Laborers in Hidalgo County, Texas.
2. The Effect of Labor Shortages in Selected Defense and Agricultural Areas on Employment of Minors under 18 Years of Age.
3. Occupations Hazardous for Minors.
4. Statistics on Child Employment.
5. Registration of Social Statistics.
6. Community Welfare Picture.
7. State Training Schools for Socially Maladjusted Children.
8. Community Organization for the Prevention and Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency.
9. Juvenile-Court Statistics.
10. Jurisdictional Provisions of Nonsupport and Desertion Laws.

III. WOMEN'S BUREAU, U. S. DEPT. OF LABOR

1. Field Surveys of Occupations, Employment, and Wages of Women in War Industries.
2. Living and Working Conditions of Women in Communities with Expanding War Industries.
3. Investigations and Standards of Health Safeguards for Women in War Plants. (Several special bulletins have been published and additional ones are now in press.)
4. Trends in the Employment of Women.
5. Changes in Laws Affecting Women Workers in War Production. (Current summary to be given in *The Woman Worker* for May.)
6. Earnings of Women in Various Types of Offices. (Data for Houston has now been released, and other cities to follow.)
7. Surveys of Wages, Occupations, and Health Conditions in the Confectionary Industry.
8. Survey of the Dust Hazards in the Peanut Industry.
9. Employment of Women in the Federal Government. (Just released.)
10. Articles on a great variety of subjects connected with woman employment appear from time to time in the Women's Bureau periodical, *The Woman Worker*.
11. *Annual Reports of the Department of Labor* also will show additional lines of investigation in progress from time to time.
12. *The Handbook of Labor Statistics* and the *Labor Year Book* of the Department of Labor both contains reports as to various phases of the subject of women in industry. These are revised from time to time.

IV. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, U. S. DEPT. OF LABOR

1. Working Hours in War Production Plants (February 1942).
2. Hours and Earnings in the United States, 1932-1940 (with supplement for 1941).
3. Indexes of Factory Employment by Metropolitan Areas (By Years, 1937, to 1941, inclusive, and by Months, January 1940 to January 1942, inclusive).
4. Geographic Distribution of Federal Civilian Employees, 1936-1941.
5. Housing and the Increase in Population.
6. New Dwelling Units in Nonfarm Areas, 1940 and 1941.
7. Occupancy of Privately Financed Houses in Bridgeport, Connecticut.
8. Housing for War Workers.

9. **Wages, Hours, and Working Conditions** (As of June 1, 1941, in building trades, printing trades, street railways, baking industry, motor truck drivers).
10. **Strikes in 1941** (With a section on strikes in the defense period, prior to December 7, 1941, and since the declaration of war).
11. Series of memoranda on industrial relations problems arising under war production:
 1. **Saturday and Sunday Pay Provisions in Twelve War Industries;**
 2. **Wage Incentives in Collective Bargaining;**
 3. **Cost of Living Wage Adjustment Provisions in Union Agreements.**
12. **Union Agreement Provisions** (Discussion of the procedural and structural arrangements for collective bargaining, interpretation and illustration of various kinds of provisions in union agreements).
13. **Industrial Injuries** (In the following industries: shipbuilding; furniture and finished lumber products; iron and steel).
14. **Earnings in Various Industries** (Machinery and allied industries, aircraft, case-goods branch of furniture, nonferrous metals, glove, grain products).
15. **Family Spending and Saving in Wartime.**
16. Studies of market conditions, conservation regulations, price movements, etc., in the first world war.

V. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, U. S. DEPT. OF COMMERCE

1. DIVISION OF STATISTICAL RESEARCH

1. **Census Experience with Enumerators and Enumeration Problems.**
2. **Efficiency of Various Types of Sampling Designs for Estimating Population and Housing Items.**
3. **Estimated Number of Natives Without Birth Registration.**
4. **United States Life Tables.**

2. DIVISION OF VITAL STATISTICS

This Division has conducted a certain amount of research the results of which are published as a part of its Vital Statistics Special Reports, and this research on the whole constitutes analyzing and developing regular material. The Decennial Census program included a series of monographs which are now in the process of completion. The Division is not sure at the present time just how far they can be completed in the period of special war work.

1. **Studies on Cardiac Disease.**
2. **Results and Problems of Residence Allocation of Births and Deaths.**
3. **Analysis of Birth and Death Rates.**
4. **Comparability of Mortality Statistics.**
5. **Marriage and Divorce Statistics.**
6. **Twenty-five Years of Birth Registration in the United States.**

VI. BUREAU OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS, SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD, FSA

Research conducted in the Bureau of Research and Statistics reflects the duties assigned to it by the Social Security Board which receives services from the Bureau of the following general types.

1. **Problems of an Interprogram Character.** Studies of the interrelationships among such programs as old-age assistance, works projects administration, old-age and survivors insurance, and analysis of new proposals for pay-roll taxes or alternative fiscal measures intended to strengthen the total program for social insurance and assistance. The Bureau is also responsible for developing and maintaining information on social security programs related to those administered by the Board, such as workmen's compensation and public retirement systems, to enable the Board to plan and operate with full information as to such related programs.
2. **Centrally Maintained Services.** Summary statistics and analyses for all insurance and assistance programs; *Annual Report* of the Board and other over-all reporting; and special summary analyses relating to several Board programs, such as are frequently required by Congressional Committees, the Executive Offices, or other Government departments.

3. **Staff Service to the Board in Interbureau Joint Planning and Project Operation.** Coordination and simplification of statistical processing of employment and wage records.

4. **Marshalling Facts on Areas of Social Insecurity.** Areas in which there is no present legislative provision but for which the Board is called upon to recommend policy.

In serving these several purposes, the Bureau is called upon to engage in many different undertakings. The Board and the Executive Director have laid down the policy that the Bureau shall restrict its activities to the problems which are of the most immediate and most urgent importance to meet administrative needs and to those directly related to the President's and the Board's program. The activities described below exemplify work in the Bureau during the past year.

5. **Methods of Allocating Grants-in-aid to States for Public Assistance.**
6. **State Efforts to Finance Public Assistance.**
7. **Proposed Changes in Social Security Pay-roll Taxes.**
8. **Report to Congress by the Board of Trustees of the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund.**
 9. **Public Expenditures for Social Security and Related Programs.**
 10. **Estimates of the Number of Physically Handicapped Persons.**
 11. **Plans for the Relief of Civilian War Injuries and Distress.**
 12. **Hospitalization Needs, Facilities, and Costs.**
 13. **Medical Needs of Recipients of Public Assistance.**
 14. **Alternative Proposals for Temporary Disability Insurance and for Permanent Disability Compensation.**
 15. **Family Composition in the United States, in Relation to Social Security Programs.**
 16. **Social Security Program Interrelationships.**
 17. **The Over-all Adequacy of Existing Social Security Provisions.**
 18. **Bases for Comparable Statistics for All the Social Insurances.**
 19. **The Social Security Board's Needs for Census Data.**
 20. **Analyzing Data Developed in Various Bureaus of the Board.**

VII. DIVISION OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS, WPA

This list includes surveys which are substantially completed but the reports on which have not been released to the public.

1. **Monthly Report of Unemployment.**
2. **Survey of Dwelling Units.**
3. **Survey of Rental Changes.**
4. **Survey of Defense Migration.**
5. **Estimating Construction Volume and Construction, by States.**
6. **The Decline of a Cotton Textile Center: A Study of New Bedford, Massachusetts.**
7. **The Problem Areas of Oklahoma.**
8. **Vocational Training and Employment of Youth.**
9. **Getting Started: Urban Youth in the Labor Market.**
10. **Federal Work, Security, and Relief Programs.**
11. **Results of Defense Training of WPA Workers in Seven Cities.**
12. **Seasonal Indices of Total Employment, Agricultural Employment, and Non-Agricultural Employment, by States.**
13. **Mathematical Relationships Among National Income, Production and Employment, as Bases for Forecasting.**

VIII. FEDERAL PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITY, NATIONAL HOUSING AGENCY

The recent consolidation of federal public housing agencies in connection with the war program has changed the situation in Washington. The United States Housing Authority, as one of the consolidated agencies, is for the present forced to defer its regular slum clearance program in order to throw all of its resources into the building of defense housing. Consequently, it is also forced to defer for the duration of the war the research program which it was just beginning to get under way and which was reported in this Census last year.

The USHA is trying to obtain clearance for the publication of the *Handbook for Research*

on the *Social Aspects of Housing* which was brought out in preliminary form last fall and which now has been revised, but this cannot be assured.

IX. NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD

The Board continually conducts studies in the fields of water resources, land use, public works, trends of income, employment, and business activity. From time to time, the Board conducts special studies. Those now going on are studies in the fields of transportation, industrial location, long-range work and relief policies, and all phases of postwar planning.

X. THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

1. *How Collective Bargaining Works*, Harry A. Millis, Research Director.
2. *Housing Survey*, Miles L. Colean, Research Director.
3. *Survey of Relations Between Government and the Electric Power Industry*, Arthur R. Burns, Research Director.
4. A series of six reports by Stuart Chase designed to clarify public thinking about postwar problems. Mr. Chase's reports are to be published periodically during 1942 and 1943 under the general title *When the War Ends*: (1) *The Road We Are Traveling: 1914-1942* (published April 1942); (2) *Goals for America: A Budget of Our Needs and Resources*; (3) *The Dollar Dilemma: Problems of Postwar Finance*; (4) *Tomorrow's Trade: Problems of Our Foreign Commerce*; (5) *Farmer, Worker, Businessman: Their Place in Postwar America*; (6) *Winning the Peace*. (Titles tentative.)
5. *A Study of Short Selling on the New York Stock Exchange*, Frederick R. Macaulay, Research Director.
6. *A Projected Major Survey in the Field of Postwar Problems*.

XI. JOSIAH MACY JR. FOUNDATION

This Foundation does not support sociological research as such but only in so far as it forms an essential part of the framework within which medicine operates and must be interpreted. The following research projects may be of interest to readers of the *American Sociological Review*:

1. *Social Interaction and Capacity for Adjustment between Subject and Interviewer*, Stanley Cobb, Harvard Medical School.
2. *Personality Development and Family Backgrounds of Children in the Nursery School*, under the direction of Lois B. Murphy, Sarah Lawrence College.
3. *The Family in Relation to Sickness and Health Care in the Kips Bay-Yorkville Health District*, Henry B. Richardson, Cornell Medical College, New York City.
4. *Integration of Medical, Social, and Psychological Approaches to the Individual Patient*, Herman G. Weiskotten, Syracuse University College of Medicine.
5. *The Health Needs of a Group of New York City Families*, Robert Lynd, Columbia University.

XII. THE GRANT FOUNDATION, INC.

The Foundation makes its grants only to other agencies and does not maintain a research staff. One such grant is for a *Study in Social Adjustments*, Arlie V. Bock, Harvard University.

XIII. RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION: DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL STUDIES

This Department is carrying on a series of studies centering in the subject of human relations and conditions in industry. A current study will shortly be published under the title *Preventing Fatal Explosions in Coal Mines: A Study of Recent Major Disasters in the United States as Accompaniments of Technological Change*.

The Department is also working on technology as it affects opportunities for employment, and the closely related subject of social adjustment to technological change in its relation to social and living conditions.

XIV. OFFICE OF PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

1. *A Comparison of the Work of Personally Trained Poll Interviewers with Those Hired by Mail*.

2. The Effect of Interviewers' Personal Opinions upon the Results They Obtain.
3. Biases in Public Opinion Sampling.
4. How Well Respondents Understand Poll Questions: a Study in Meaning.
5. Supplementing Poll Data with Case Studies.
6. The Definition and Identification of Economic Status for Polling Purposes.
7. The Reliability of Interviewers' Ratings of Economic Status.
8. Economic Status and Educational Attainment as Determinants of Opinion.
9. The Relationship Between Information and Opinion.
10. The Use of Small Samples in Public Opinion Research.
11. Measuring the Intensity of Opinion: Methods and Results.
12. The Measurement of Attitudes: the Use of a Single Question Compared to a Battery of Questions.
13. A Technique for Measuring Morale in Wartime.

XV. OFFICE OF POPULATION RESEARCH, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

The Office of Population Research of Princeton University's School of Public and International Affairs has accepted the major responsibility for the demographic section of a series of studies relating to post-war problems being undertaken by the Economic, Financial, and Transit Department of the League of Nations. These studies involve careful analysis of the characteristics and dynamics of population and their relation to social and economic change. A fuller account appears on pages 91 and 92 of Galloway's *Post War Planning in the United States*, recently published by The Twentieth Century Fund.)

XVI. PSYCHODRAMATIC INSTITUTE, 101 PARK AVE., NEW YORK

1. The Effects of Spontaneity Training on Individuals and Groups.
2. The Value of Psychodramatic Therapy for Mental Hospitals.
3. Re-Training of Marriage Partners in a Psychodramatic Clinic.
4. Spontaneity and the Role of the Eater.
5. The Auxiliary World of a Dementia Praecox: A Sociometric and Psychodramatic Analysis.
6. Sociometric Procedures in the Organization of a Self-Help Center.

soci
cons
Indi
St. I
has
has
espe
shor
I
socia
accre
one c
groun
work
scien
A sur
regar
It
work
as eff
by the
welfar
be nee
Th
money
812 in
812 ser
27,000
their co
the high
Ove
varying
properl
The
aid to q
to enter
It is
tion, 74
Am
increas
make po
This
his dutie
ments. F
the Octo
to him at
Ame
have mig

CURRENT ITEMS

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND MEETINGS

American Association of Schools of Social Work. The growing shortage of trained social workers throughout the country led the Association to appoint a Recruiting Committee consisting of Leonard W. Mayo, Western Reserve University, chairman; Louis E. Evans, Indiana University; Leona E. Massoth, Executive Secretary of the Association; A. H. Scheller, St. Louis University; and R. Clyde White, University of Chicago. The Recruiting Committee has undertaken to inform students and college faculties of the need for increased enrollment, especially of women, in the schools of social work in order to relieve in some measure the acute shortage of professionally trained social workers.

In 1941, the Association Committee on Pre-Social Work Education pointed out that the social sciences have paramount importance to undergraduate students who expect to enter an accredited school of social work—all 38 of which are on a graduate basis. Social work offers one of the best fields for students who were undergraduate sociology majors. A good background in sociology is highly desirable for case work, group work, or community organization work. The Committee found that in 76 colleges, sociology is more often than any other social science recommended to students who expect to go on to graduate schools of social work. A survey of the opinion of about eight hundred social workers in Minnesota showed that they regard sociology as of primary importance to them.

It is hoped by the Recruiting Committee that professors of sociology will bring social work to the attention of their students—especially women at the present time—as often and as effectively as possible. It has recently been estimated by competent administrators that by the early part of 1943 about 6500 additional workers will be needed in family welfare, child welfare, and medical social work and about 1000 in group work. These new social workers will be needed by both public and private agencies.

The American Council of Education, with the Carnegie Corporation furnishing the money and C. S. Marsh directing, surveyed the flow of trained manpower which will issue from 812 institutions granting A.B. (or higher) degrees. There are 921 such institutions but only 812 sent in usable returns. By January, 1943, these schools will turn out 145,000 graduates and 27,000 postgraduates (M.A., Ph.D., or equivalent degrees). The schools have "compacted" their courses so that the flow will be more regular, though June-July and January are still the high points on the curve.

Over 90 percent can expand their enrollments but enrollments are decreasing at rates varying from 8 to 25 percent. The teaching staffs are also being depleted, with insufficient properly qualified personnel available for replacement.

The report suggests more deferment from military service for more professions, financial aid to qualified students (to offset the pull of high wages), stimulation of secondary students to enter fields in which shortages exist, and more careful counseling of women matriculants.

It is a very interesting report and may be obtained from the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.—R.B.

American Sociological Review has had to reduce its size with this issue because of increased costs and insufficient income. It is hoped that enough new members will be gained to make possible full-sized issues in October and December.

This issue was edited by Read Bain. J. K. Folsom, the new editor, was unable to take up his duties because of illness in his family and consequent incompletion of previous commitments. However, his family is now well and his *Family* is through the press, so he will edit the October issue. All manuscripts and other communications to the editor should be addressed to him at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York.

American Statistical Association reports in its April *Bulletin* that 121 of its members have migrated to Washington, D. C., since June 1, 1941. New York (45) and Pennsylvania

(14) have contributed the greatest number, the 26 other states having sent less than ten each, 13 being represented by one each, and six by two.

A chapter, the first outside of continental United States, has been established at Havana, Cuba.

Journal of Legal and Political Sociology, Volume I, Number I, will appear October, 1942. It will appear semiannually until quarterly status is attained after the war. The subscription rate is \$3.50 (\$2.00 for single copies, 25 percent reduction to American Sociological Society members). It is published by Philosophical Library, Inc., 15 E. 40 Street, New York. Georges Gurvitch, Columbia University, is the editor.

The first issue will deal with the general topic "Democracy and Social Structure" and will contain articles by R. M. MacIver, Karl N. Llewellyn, David Riesman, Talcott Parsons, Georges Gurvitch, Robert Merton, and Kingsley Davis, plus book reviews.

Mexican-American Institute of Cultural Relations, Benjamin Franklin Library, Reforma 34, Mexico, D. F., has been founded to promote intellectual and artistic collaboration between the two Americas and especially between Mexico and the United States. The signers of the founders' statement are: José Gaos; Eduardo García Maynez; Ignacio González Guzmán; H. M. Lydenberg; Manuel Martínez Báez; Lucio Mendieta y Núñez; Paul V. Murray; Edmundo O'Gorman; Samuel Ramos; Luis Recasens Siches; Alfonso Reyes; C. H. Stevens; Edward G. Trueblood; Eduardo Villaseñor; J. M. Zilboorg.

The *National Research Council*, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, D. C., has recently issued the fourth edition of a *Handbook of Scientific and Technical Societies and Institutions of the United States and Canada* (N. R. C. Bulletin No. 106, January, 1942; 389 pages, \$4.00). The United States section contains information on 1269 societies, associations, and similar organizations in the natural [sic!—R.B.] sciences and related fields that contribute to the advancement of knowledge through their meetings, publications, and other resources. There are also included a number of more general organizations and special institutions supporting scientific research.

The *Handbook* gives, in most cases, the president and secretary of the organization; the history, object, membership, meetings, research funds, and serial publications. A subject index to each section (United States and Canadian) includes a classification of the activities, funds, periodicals, and changes of name as reported in the history. The fourth edition has a personnel index also for each section.

(A real National Research Council would certainly include similar data for the social sciences which also deal with natural phenomena by natural science research methods—though the N. R. C. evidently has not yet learned this fact, *mirabile dictu*.—R.B.)

The Council's Committee on Food Habits, Carl E. Guthe, chairman, has issued "The Relationship between Food Habits and Problems of Wartime Emergency Feeding." While sociologists are not cooks, they sometimes have to advise cooks and agencies that have feeding problems. There is an appendix which gives concrete advice for the feeding of mixed groups. The report can be obtained by addressing the Council.

Office of Government Reports, Washington, D. C. Joseph Hirsh, until recently social economist charged with planning postwar public services with the Federal Public Work Reserve, has been appointed Liaison Officer in the Executive Office of the President, Office of Government Reports.

The *Ohio Valley Sociologist* for May, 1942, contains useful abstracts of five of the papers presented at the annual meeting, April 24-25. Others will appear in later issues. The new president, Guy Sarvis, of Ohio Wesleyan University, asks all members to submit suggestions for next year's program and also to advance any proposals for the improvement of the Ohio Valley Sociological Society.

Phi Delta Kappa has abrogated the "white clause" by a vote of 67 out of 92, thus eliminating the disgraceful constitutional provision which caused the National Council to suspend the Ohio State chapter because it initiated a Chinese and a Negro in 1940. This referendum restores the Ohio chapter. It will be interesting to see whether the 20 chapters (five did not vote) that voted to retain the restriction will fall in line or secede and found a

goo
to a
educ

Rev
Soci
Dec
Vier
Bain

A
that
sible
evid
encie
struc
Chris
"the
form
that
As

All I
ganda
object
My de
are pr
wheth

WI
determ
judged
in that
least t
bels an
some
"indete
ture, a
purpose
me, use
absurdi

Any
"propag
does not

Nor
munist
ous met
"objecti
short-wa
propagand
come from
the exact
is like m
to see it

Publ
by Maxw
of which
(1.5 milli
entering

good 100 percent white un-American educational fraternity. It took Phi Delta Kappa 30 years to achieve this belated statement of racial equality—30 years of democratic disgrace for the educators.—R.B.

Propaganda is analyzed by N. S. Timasheff in the *American Catholic Sociological Review*, June, 1942, under the title "Cultural Order in Liberal, Fascist, and Communist Society." In it he takes a person named Bain to task for his remark on propaganda in the December *Review* (page 887), saying that Bain's definition is the same as George Sylvester Viereck's, that there is no objection to a normative use of the term "propaganda," and that Bain's definition is not operational.

As to the second point, Timasheff says, "However, in respect to a definite social ideal (e.g., that accepted in the text) agreement is easy, and the use of terms 'good' or 'bad' is permissible, since it does not lead to any misunderstanding." That this begs the question is clearly evident when he says "Bad propaganda attempts to reinforce those base motives and tendencies. . . . Good propaganda is not only propaganda using decent means, but also a constructive propaganda giving concrete, emotionally appealing shape to the eternal ideals of Christianity, moral and social, and to the political ideals of democracy." Later he speaks of "the eternal principles of Goodness" and cites the Legion of Decency as "the best possible form" of propaganda. These statements contain their own refutation so far as demonstrating that there is anything objective or scientific in such a concept of propaganda.

As to the third point, Timasheff may be right about the nature of an operational definition. All I was concerned with is that the definition should describe the *procedures* used in propaganda so that its invidious meaning will be preserved and so that, at the same time, it can be objectively differentiated from other forms of communication which we do not call propaganda. My definition does this. It enables anyone to decide objectively whether certain acts or ideas are propaganda whether he agrees or disagrees with their purposes or goals. It doesn't matter whether it is an "operational" definition or not if it performs its function properly.

While Timasheff's definition, "... a series of actions whose purpose is to induce an indeterminate mass of people to accept definite principles of action. These principles may be judged good or bad by those to whom authority . . . belongs," is better than many definitions in that it excludes many types of communication often called propaganda, it is defective in at least two respects. It is essentially in harmony with the concept of propaganda used by Goebbels and the Catholic Church, viz., that propaganda is anything (though Timasheff limits it somewhat) propagated; if it is supported by *Authority* it is "good"; if not, "bad." Second, the "indeterminate mass" criterion would classify as propaganda such communications as a lecture, a novel, a political speech, an advertisement, a sermon, or a treatise on conchology, if the purpose of the author were to convince anyone that he should act in a certain way: vote for me, use my method of classifying molluscs, or buy my tooth paste. This gets pretty close to absurdity.

Any conception of propaganda is useless and meaningless which makes it equivalent to "propagating" ideas or actions "for" or "against" what *I* think is "good" or "bad," and which does not clearly and nonnormatively differentiate it from other classes of communication.

Nor is it true, as Timasheff says, that according to my definition there is no Nazi or Communist propaganda in the U. S. There is plenty of both, and it is the most effective and dangerous method of attempting to "persuade": the athletic "clubs," the "cultural" professors, the "objective scientists," etc. The voice of Goebbels gabbling, the hysteria of Hitler howling, the short-wave voice of Haw-Haw, may be ridiculous, irritating, or dangerous, but they are not propaganda. They are efforts to confuse and destroy morale, but *when we know where they come from, who they are, and what they are trying to do*, it is an open battle and usually produces the exact opposite of the intended effect—except upon those who are already Nazi-minded. It is like my hearing that the Legion of Decency has "condemned" a picture—it makes me want to see it because I know *who* has condemned it and *why*.—R.B.

Public Affairs Committee has issued Pamphlet 68, *The Coming Crisis in Manpower*, by Maxwell S. Stewart. He estimates that about 12 million will be employed in the war effort, of which 8.4 can come from decline in non-war activities. The 3.5 million needed will partly (1.5 million) come from the 4.2 million unemployed (first quarter of 1942), partly from youth entering work (about a half million each year), from W.P.A., and others (Negroes, women,

and older children) not now employed. The problem of allocating manpower is very serious but is being attacked with vigor by the MacNutt War Manpower Commission. There is a good bibliography.

The *Institute of Public Affairs* held its Sixteenth Annual Session at the University of Virginia on June 5-11, 1942. The general topic was "New Strategies for War and Peace."

The *Southern Sociological Society* has received a grant of \$5000 from the General Education Board to finance a three-year study of the teaching of sociology in the colleges, universities, and secondary schools. This study is being made by the Commission on the Teaching of Sociology with Wayland J. Hayes, of Vanderbilt University, as chairman.

NEWS FROM COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

University of Arizona. Frederick A. Conrad is the author of a chapter in a forthcoming introductory text on social analysis which will be edited by Elmer Pendell.

Recent publications include a bulletin entitled "Volume and Characteristics of Migration to Arizona 1930-39." This bulletin was done in cooperation with the Division of Farm Population, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Varden Fuller and other members of the Division participating.

University of Delaware. *Labor Problems Arising From Mobilization in the United States*, by David Kenneth Spiegel, has just been published.

Hofstra College, Hempstead, Long Island. The publication of *Sociological Foundations of Education* is announced by T. Y. Crowell and Company. Joseph S. Roucek is editor and co-author. He was visiting professor at the summer schools of the College of the Pacific and the San Francisco State College.

Hunter College, New York City. Ephraim Fischhoff, formerly of Monmouth Junior College, Long Branch, New Jersey, has been added to the staff of the sociology department.

Indiana University. A. B. Hollingshead, who has been on leave under a Social Science Research Council grant-in-aid, has now entered the navy. Mary Bess Owen, who has been teaching his classes, will continue on the staff during 1942-43.

University of Louisville. Samuel Clayton Newman has enlisted for the duration of the war in the United States Navy, as a Chief Specialist (non-commissioned petty officer). After several weeks of training, beginning May 25, at Norfolk Training Base, he will be assigned to duty.

The Ohio State University. In order to help meet the educational needs in the war emergency, the department gave the most complete summer program in its history. All regular elementary courses were given in addition to a wide variety of offerings for advanced undergraduate and graduate students. The teaching staff included Denune, Cook, Batchelor, Wetzell, and the department assistants.

The course on the Modern Family was broadcast from the classroom over WOSU from 1:00 to 1:30 P.M. daily, Monday through Thursday, by Professor Denune.

F. E. Lumley has been appointed to the City Planning Commission of Columbus, Ohio, for a term of six years. He has served for approximately seven years on the Board of Zoning Adjustment—a committee of five designed to intervene between the rigors of the zoning law and the individual property owner.

University of Omaha. The department is issuing monthly summaries of local current research studies. These are mailed to leader in religious, social, civic, and educational agencies of the community.

T. Earl Sullenger is one of the co-authors of *Juvenile Delinquency in Urban Areas*, edited by Shaw and McKay, published by the University of Chicago Press.

The department has been designated as chairman of the new Associate Title Two-Year Program in Recreation Leadership recently approved by the College of Applied Arts and Sciences.

Ira Jones, who expects to complete his Ph.D. degree at the University of Nebraska soon, has been appointed extension instructor in sociology.

Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política (São Paulo, Brazil). A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, on leave from Oxford University, will give courses in the department of sociology and anthropology during 1942.

Syracuse University. Frank A. Ross, formerly head of the department, who had to give up his work because of serious illness some time ago, is much improved and has resumed his former work as editor of the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*. His address is Thetford, Vermont.

University of Toledo. C. J. Bushnell has been appointed director of the Program for Public Service Training now being offered by the University. During the summer he will study the plans of the leading universities that are giving special attention to social welfare service courses.

He has been appointed to the Board of Editors of the *Dictionary of Sociology* which is being brought out in New York with H. P. Fairchild, of New York University, as Editor-in-Chief.

Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. T. Y. Crowell and Company has issued *An Introduction to Sociology*, by L. L. Bernard. Mr. Bernard also has *The Social Science Movement* almost ready for the press. This is one of the volumes in the history of American sociology upon which he has been working for many years.

University of Washington. Calvin F. Schmid is on leave working in the statistical division of the Wartime Civil Control Administration. He is located in San Francisco and is assisting in the evacuation and relocation of the Japanese citizens who have been moved out of the Coast military zone.

Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan. Alfred McClung Lee has been appointed professor and chairman of the sociology department. He will take up his duties in September, 1942. He has been at New York University since 1938, and formerly taught at Yale and the University of Kansas.

Yale University. Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942), who had been a member of the Yale faculty since 1939, died May 16.

The Yale University Press has published *Sun Chief, The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*, by Leo W. Simmons, and *Smoke from Their Fires: The Life of a Kwakiutl Chief*, by Clellan S. Ford. Both of these books are based upon the story of the central character as told to the two authors. Simmons is the adopted brother of the Sun Chief—Honweseoma (Trailing Bear).

The Press has also issued *Becoming a Kwoma: Teaching and Learning in a New Guinea Tribe*, by John W. M. Whiting.

The American Philosophical Society will issue another book on Melanesia, *The Making of Modern New Guinea*, by S. W. Reed.

OBITUARY NOTICE

MARIANO H. CORNEJO (1866-1942)

News has just reached me, through his son-in-law, Dr. Luis Ernesto Denegri of the University of San Marcos in Lima, of the death of Dr. *Mariano H. Cornejo*, in Paris on the 24th of March last. Dr. Cornejo, the author of *Sociología General* (2 vols., 1908; French Edition, 1911) and many other books and monographs on political, historical, and sociological subjects, was born in Arequipa, Peru, in 1866, and was in his seventy-sixth year at the time of his death. He has long enjoyed the honor of being the most distinguished South American sociologist. His large two volume work was done after the European model of scholarship and was largely synthetic and eclectic, but it was thorough in scholarship and unusually complete in extent of coverage. Those who desire an extended analysis of Cornejo's system will be able to find it in Barnes' *Systematic Sociology* scheduled to appear this year, in a chapter by the present writer, and also in an article by the same author on Cornejo's sociology to appear in *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* sometime this year.

In brief, Cornejo's system may be summarized as follows. The first volume of the *Sociología General* is concerned with the factors which have produced human society and are still producing it, such as human evolution, inventions, the growth of group structure, cultural accumulation and integration, geographic determinants, climate, heredity, race, population growth and movements, education, the imitation of culture patterns, the division of labor, and war. He dedicated his second volume to the analysis of social institutions made chiefly from the anthropological and cultural approach. He analyzed several of these major cultural processes in the following order: (1) language, (2) myth and religion, (3) art, (4) custom, law, and morals, (5) marriage and the family, (6) the state, and (7) science. His point of view is Neo-Positivistic. His conclusions are, in my opinion, mainly valid.

Cornejo's work as a sociologist was only a secondary, although a genuine and profound, concern with him. Most of his active years were spent in politics, in the chamber of deputies, in the senate, as foreign minister, and as delegate to the League of Nations. His professorship of sociology in the University of San Marcos was therefore with him, as with most Latin American sociologists, an avocation. Yet out of it came a major contribution to the subject in the form of the two volumes just outlined. His last years were spent in Paris, which, in common with most Latin American men of the educated classes, he loved as his spiritual home. I met him at the International Sociological Congress at Brussels in 1935 and found him to be a simple mannered, unassuming, kindly man of much learning and small pretensions, a perfect example of the genuine scholarly type. I shall allow his son-in-law, Dr. Denegri, to give an account of his last days. Dr. Denegri says:

Señor Cornejo was unwilling to leave Paris after the defeat of the French army, since it would have separated him from the Père Lachaise cemetery where his daughter and wife were buried. Very old and blind, but always at work, Señor Cornejo lived in his last days completely alone in his ancient mansion in Paris, as a dreamer among his remembrances, so vivid, but hidden by the shadows from his eyes. We have heard by letter that all Paris, in an impressive ceremony, went to the Père Lachaise for the interment of his body in the family tomb. Many speakers of the Institute of France, of the Society of Men of Letters, of the Institute of Sociology, spoke in farewell to him who had been so powerful an orator and so remarkable a sociologist.

Nearly a year ago, I wrote Dr. Cornejo at Paris but the letter fell into the hands of the British censors and was returned to me. I had assumed that our mail had free passage, but apparently it did not.

L. L. BERNARD

Washington University

BOOK REVIEWS

BOOK REVIEW EDITORS

LELAND C. DEVINNEY AND THOMAS C. MCCORMICK
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

Kohn: <i>World Order in Historical Perspective</i> . Robert E. Park.....	561
Soule: <i>The Strength of Nations</i> . Hans Kohn.....	565
Sargent: <i>Getting U S into War</i> . Read Bain.....	566
Gillin and Gillin: <i>An Introduction to Sociology</i> . R. A. Schermerhorn.....	567
Reuter: <i>Handbook of Sociology</i> . Seba Eldridge and Marston McCluggage.....	570
Aptekar: <i>Basic Concepts in Social Work</i> . Regina Feiner.....	570
Leonard and Loomis: <i>Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community</i> . Read Bain.....	572
Nixon: <i>Possum Trot. Rural Community, South</i> . Morton King, Jr.....	572
Cowgill: <i>Mobile Homes: A Study of Trailer Life</i> . Read Bain.....	573
Hobbs: <i>Differentials in Internal Migration</i> . Charles E. Lively.....	574
Davis and Dollard: <i>Children of Bondage</i> . Donald C. Marsh.....	575
DuBois: <i>Dusk of Dawn. An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept</i> . Guy B. Johnson.....	576
Roth: <i>A History of the Jews in England</i> . Ephraim Fischhoff.....	577
Lakhovsky: <i>La Civilisation et la Folie Raciste</i> . Ephraim Fischhoff.....	578
Bernard: <i>American Family Behavior</i> . Mirra Komarovsky.....	579
Bowman: <i>Marriage for Moderns</i> . Jessie Bernard.....	580
Capellanus: <i>The Art of Courtly Love</i> . Arthur W. Calhoun.....	581
Koshuk: <i>Social Influences Affecting the Behavior of Young Children</i> . Helen C. Dawe.....	582
Jenings: <i>The Beginnings of Social Behavior in Unicellular Organisms</i> . C. M. Child.....	583
Davis: <i>America Organizes Medicine</i> . Read Bain.....	583
Bell, Ed.: <i>Probation and Parole Progress; Yearbook, National Probation Association, 1941; Pigeon and others: Principles and Methods in Dealing with Offenders</i> . Donald Clemmer.....	584

BOOK NOTES

Halsey: <i>The Development of Public Recreation in Metropolitan Chicago</i>	586
Logan, ed.: <i>The Attitude of the Southern White Press toward Negro Suffrage, 1932-1940</i>	586
Smith: <i>The Negro in Congress, 1870-1901</i>	586
Coleman, Jr.: <i>Slavery Times in Kentucky</i>	586
Cansler: <i>Three Generations: The Story of a Colored Family of Eastern Tennessee</i>	587
Institute for Propaganda Analysis: <i>Health and the Doctors</i>	587
Skinner and Harriman, eds.: <i>Child Psychology: Child Development and Modern Education</i>	587
Logasa: <i>Regional United States</i>	587

World Order in Historical Perspective. By HANS KOHN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. xiv+352. \$3.00.

World Order in Historical Perspective is, as its jacket announces, "another book by the author of *Force or Reason, Revolutions and Dictatorships*, Not

By Arms Alone," all concerned with one or another phase of the present world crisis. What makes these books interesting and significant is the fact that the author has been not merely a participant observer of the events he describes but is by temperament and profession a historian and thus able to see them, as a mere reporter would not, in a historical perspective.

In *World Order*, which concludes the series, the author has sought, among other things, to define in a fundamental way the issues in the present world war. In doing this he has made use of a sociological distinction and a principle familiar to historians, if not to sociologists, since Thucydides wrote the history of the Peloponnesian Wars. It is the principle by which one may distinguish, by the differing conception that each makes of itself and by the divergent ends they pursue, two fundamental types of society, different but intimately related as if they were the product of the same dialectic process. In the time of Thucydides these societies, each in some sense the counterpart of the other, were represented by Athens and Sparta.

It is not, perhaps, as obvious in the case of a society as it is of an individual that the conception which an organism forms of itself—if and when it achieves self-consciousness—performs a function that is indispensable to its existence. It is, however, self-consciousness that gives to the individual the character of a personality and, in somewhat the same sense, it is this collective consciousness that gives to a territorially organized society the character of a nationality. To state it in the language of the author:

Among the realities of national life the image which a nation forms of itself and in which it mirrors itself is one of the most important. Though the everyday reality, in many ways, does not correspond to the image and falls far short of its ideal perfection—sometimes even contradicts it in the countless and conflicting trends of the complex actuality—nevertheless, this image, woven of elements of reality, tradition, imagination, and aspiration, is one of the most influential agents in forming the national character. It helps to mold national life; if it does not always act in a positive direction, it acts at least as a constant brake. . . . Nations not rooted for many centuries in a circumscribed soil, or nourished by the belief in common descent, live even more by the force of the national idea (pp. 18-19).

Thus if now the disastrous struggle between Athens and Sparta, seems to have had the character of an irrepressible conflict, it is because the life of the state in each case was organized about an ideal which made it impossible for both to live, in political independence of one another, within the limits of the same habitat, or to use the German term, the same *Lebensraum*.

In somewhat the same way it seems today even more obvious that the Axis Powers and the Allies, given the ideals they hold, cannot live on the same planet. That is what is meant by saying that this is an ideological war; a revolution rather than a dynastic struggle. In this definition of the situation the author of this volume seems to be in full accord with Herr Hitler. Lincoln once said that "a nation cannot live half slave and half free." To such an extent have the physical and social distances, which measure the *Lebensraum* of existing empires, been reduced in this modern world that one is perhaps now justified in asserting that "a world cannot survive that is half free and half slave." The logic of events, it seems, has finally made

compromise impossible and there is no longer any choice except that between freedom and slavery; Democracy and Totalitarianism.

But it was not to find a historical analogy which seemed to reaffirm a sociological principle that this book was written. It was rather intended to demonstrate that the program of the Axis Powers, in its attack upon existing civilization and upon the ideology which supports it, is an anachronism.

The world order, viewed in historical perspective, exhibits a continuing, though sometimes interrupted, expansion of the cultural horizon which tends to bring within the limits of a single economic, political and moral order an ever larger proportion of the population and an ever larger number of the peoples of the world. The family, which was the first effective social unit, has been successively superseded by the clan, the tribe, and the state. Today even states and empires are in the process of being mediatized and subordinated, as were once the independent principalities of Germany in the formation of the German Reich, in the interest of a more inclusive social unit, the so-called *Great Society*.

Both the Axis Powers and the Allies recognize the necessity of an international authority capable of maintaining international peace, but they have different notions of the form that this "new order" should take, how authority should be administered, and who should exercise it.

The Axis Powers have a program which has the advantage of being pragmatic rather than ideal. They propose to conquer the world and impose over as much of it as each is able to hold in effective subordination, an order that is at once economic, political, and eventually religious and cultural.

The Allies, on the other hand, are seeking to improvise a social order which will insure not merely international order but international freedom and equality. Obviously this is less a program than an ideal. It is not something that can be won by war nor insured by the terms of a peace, no matter how well intentioned the parties to that peace may be. It must remain a consummation to be hoped for, an article of faith, something that can be measurably achieved only in the course of an historical process to which we can as yet set no limits. But the Axis Powers, and particularly Germany and Japan, deny that this is even a legitimate ideal. It is not something that can or should be hoped for, at any time within the limits of a determinate future.

If one inquires what is the source and origin of this rather cynical realism which seems on its face the denial of so many of men's legitimate hopes; if one asks, more specifically, where does such a program of blood and iron find support in the conscience and common sense of the German people, the answer seems to be, in part at least, that, perplexed and frustrated as they have been by the outcome and aftermath of the first world war, the German people have sought compensation in a revival of the myths of their ancient and heroic past. They have conceived themselves accordingly as achieving, in some fashion, in the 20th century the tribal solidarity and pristine vigor of those early Germans whose manners Tacitus contrasted with the servility and degeneracy of the Romans of his day. Incidentally, they have set up in

the place of the folk, which had been for Herder a purely cultural concept, the notion of race, which is a purely biological concept.

In 1887 there was published a unique and interesting sociological treatise entitled *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* ("Community and Society"); Ferdinand Tönnies was the author. It remained for nearly fifteen years almost unnoticed and then suddenly, about 1902, it became the most popular sociological treatise in Germany. The thing that gave it its sudden popularity seems to have been its conception of the folk, a conception which had assumed meantime for German social science a new importance. In the words of the author of this volume:

It contrasted two ideal types of societal organization. Community saw totality and wholeness in the group, of which the individual was only part. It was formed by unconscious factors, by the deep dark forces of instinct. It was irrational in its origins and in its ties, deeply embedded in the forces of nature, growing organically. It was characteristic of primitive, and to a lesser extent of feudal, times. Society, on the other hand, was characteristic of modern bourgeois civilization. It saw wholeness and totality in the individual, who was prior to the group, which is viewed as a sociological concept owing its origin to rational motives and clear insight into individual interests. Though Tönnies showed some nostalgic longing for the Community, he understood that Society was the mark of high civilization and of a higher morality, that it demanded a respect for truth and law and their universality, a sense of reciprocity and of contractual fidelity, unknown in the more primitive forms. But German social science soon contrasted the "organic depth" of Community, regarded as peculiarly German (though the Russian Slavophiles claimed it as peculiarly Russian), with the "mechanic superficiality" of Society, regarded as characteristic of Western bourgeois society. This contrast was often expressed as that between *Kultur* and civilization (pp. 46-47).

One advantage which the Axis Powers have had in the present war is that their program has been fortified by an ideology which has been carefully worked out and positively stated, and by a doctrine that is easy to believe. The Allies, on the other hand, seem vague as to their philosophy and confused as to their aims.

One of the purposes of Kohn's little volume is to dispel this democratic confusion and if not re-define, at least reinforce, the democratic faith. He has looked for his definition, interestingly enough, in the history of a country that has been described as a melting pot of races and cultures, where there are, to be sure, folks but no Folk. He has found it, he believes, in the Declaration of Independence, in the Bill of Rights and in all the rhetoric in which the forefathers of the Republic sought to formulate and proclaim the principles on which the United States of America was founded. This is obviously the connection, which when I first read them was not wholly clear to me, between this volume's first chapter, "The Way of Life" and its last chapter, "The Way of Civilization." What the author—I will not say proposes, but—at any rate suggests, is a declaration of a Bill of International Rights as a basis for a United States of the World. The Allies already have the Atlantic Charter. But much has happened since that was proclaimed and something new, it seems, should now be added, to emphasize what is implicit in that document; namely its intention to be inclusive and to have, eventually, world wide application.

Looking at the nature and purposes of this war, in the spacious context in which it is here presented, if it seems that the Allies in fighting for an ideal are fighting for the impossible, one may well take into the reckoning the fact that in the long run this is the way in which progress, so far as it can ever be regarded as a product of human planning, is actually made.

ROBERT E. PARK

Fisk University

The Strength of Nations. By GEORGE SOULE. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 268. \$2.50.

The lag of the social sciences as compared with the natural sciences is a very often observed fact. During the last three centuries and especially during the last one hundred years we have achieved an ever-growing mastery over the physical world. At the same time in spite of great progress in fields such as history or psychology, we have achieved no similar mastery over the social world. On the contrary, in the midst of an ever-growing complexity of social relations and psychological behavior in our age of the masses, we seem to be more and more powerless to cure the ills of human society. An earlier optimism about our abilities to control society and to build a rational world order has given way lately to deep scepticism and pessimism. Social sciences have accumulated a vast amount of facts, but there is no effort at systematic hypothesis. Soule believes in its possibility and necessity. "Large as are the irrational elements in human life, it yet remains true that only through the use of rational and purposeful faculties can we either repair a human organism that has suffered a derangement, or direct the organization of energy so that as little as possible is dislocated in waste and destruction." He rightly points out that it was the excesses of individualism and their results in domestic and international anarchy which paved the way for the totalitarian regimes. "Democracies actually menaced by totalitarian aggression have been rendered less capable of successful resistance, not so much by the totalitarian traitors as by the extreme individualists within their ranks. The attitude of the non-interventionists who argue that every necessary step toward eliminating Hitlerism from the world is itself an approach to Hitlerism, furnishes striking evidence of the self-destructive futility of the negativistic individualist tradition" which embodies the essence of isolation.

What Soule has to say in his chapter on "The Problem of Values" seems most appropriate and timely. It can form the foundation for a new living social science which would be in accordance with the need of present society and with the American tradition. It is a thoughtful book of which however the title is misleading. It is in reality not a study about the strength of nations, but one about the possibility of a social science to illuminate human society, if equipped with the appropriate intellectual apparatus and techniques, and to alter human action in social relationships.

HANS KOHN

Smith College

Getting U S Into War. By PORTER SARGENT. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1941. Pp. 636. \$4.00.

This is a valuable source book for students of propaganda and social control. It consists largely of the one hundred Bulletins and notes thereon which Sargent sent to his mailing list weekly from May 30, 1939, to April 4, 1941. It tells how the British propaganda which finally took us into war was conceived and executed. It is based upon a correct conception of propaganda, viz., if it isn't secret, it isn't propaganda, i.e., the source or the purpose, or both, must be concealed.

This simple fact Sargent clearly sees, though the Institute for Propaganda Analysis and many of our most prolific professional students of propaganda have never seen it, with the result that they muddle themselves and others in the hopeless bog of "good" and "bad" propaganda and confuse propaganda with advertising, publicity, education, art, news, controversial discussion, and so on. The key to the success of the British policy is found in the secret art of Vansittart and Lord Macmillan's statement, "The policy is that there shall be no propaganda in the United States of America." Sargent believes that the success of the often crude and bumbling British efforts was largely due to Mr. Roosevelt's great admiration for British Raj and his own more or less unconscious lust for dictatorial power, plus the gullibility of the American people and the machinations of the munition makers, Morgans, Lamonts, and the money-mindedness of college presidents and their sheeplike faculties and students.

There is no question that those who used to be called isolationists (now defensivists, i.e., those who want our armed forces kept at home) were a very heterogeneous aggregation—from *Bund* to Beard. The isolationists made many tactical blunders, the chief of which was to accept aid and comfort from the Nazi fringe, e.g., Lindbergh played into Vansittart's hands when he condemned the Jews and failed to condemn the Coughlins, Pelleys, Kuhns, *et al.* I suppose the theory was that men you don't like may be used legitimately to advance a cause to which you are devoted.

There is no doubt in my mind that Sargent's *Bulletins*, the statements of Dewey, Beard, and all other respectable isolationists, were used to good effect by both the respectable and disreputable non-interventionists. All the time Britain was trying to get us *into* war, the Axis propagandists were bending every effort to keep us *out*, and to keep us complacent, confused, divided, and unprepared. Sargent, or someone, should write a book on *Keeping U S Out of War*. Then we would have good pro and con source material on the greatest Verbal Battle of the Century.

The irony of the situation is that we are *in*—and however we come out, each side can claim with equal plausibility that it was right. If we "win," even if we mess up the "peace," as we probably shall, or if we get an armed truce, the war party can claim that we would have become a Nazi dependency if we hadn't gone in—however badly things turn out, they can claim it "might have been worse." If a decent world organization is achieved, the isolationists can claim it would have come about anyway; if things are terrible, they can say "We told you so"—they can, and will.

It was a case of more people liking mince pie than apple pie—and they probably will continue to like it, even if they get a bad stomach-ache. Sargent professes great love for Britain but great dislike for the Tory Gang that has run, and still seems to be running, the Empire. If the United Nations win, the British Empire will be finished as certainly as if Hitler should win. The difference will be that the United States, China, and Russia, rather than the Sons of Heaven and Wotan, will have to endure the stomach-ache and headache of trying to organize the world.

I'd rather have it that way, and I suppose Sargent and the other non-Nazi isolationists agree.

The real war (which I hope will be blurry rather than bloody) will come after the Peace, when Common Men Everywhere try to collect the decent democratic life they now think they are fighting for.

READ BAIN

Miami University

An Introduction to Sociology. By JOHN LEWIS GILLIN and JOHN PHILIP GILLIN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942. Pp. 806. \$3.75.

For a number of years American sociologists have felt the need of text material that draws more heavily on anthropological data in addition to the usual analysis of contemporary society. Ogburn and Nimkoff helped to fill this gap in their compendious work of 1940, and the Gillins, *père et fils*, have now travelled a good deal farther along the road.¹ This is due in large measure to the junior author, John Philip Gillin, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Duke University, but it also bears witness to the breadth of interest and maturity of spirit characteristic of the senior author whose achievements in sociology are both extensive and highly respected by his colleagues. Thus the book is a fruitful collaboration between a traditional sociology of social betterment and a more determined *Wertfreiheit* of recent trends. That it does not achieve a basic unity of view is due chiefly to the pluralistic aims and methods inherent in modern sociology; Ginsberg has rightly declared that "sociology still awaits its Newton or its Darwin."

The volume is carefully adapted to classroom use, with a clear and facile style, numerous diagrams and photographs, several cleverly chosen cartoons from the New Yorker that are strikingly *à propos*, and excellent bibliographies and study questions for discussion. Sections II and III have very useful illustrative material from field studies in anthropology and give the reader a vivid sense of the relativity of cultural behavior. In the division dealing with the family there is a splendid comparative table of the 19th and 20th century families. During the discussion of social process, the authors include much suggestive material on contravention and acculturation, topics that usually receive minor attention in rudimentary works. Linton's terms "universals, specialties and alternatives" are fruitfully employed several times in sharpening social analysis, and his emphasis on age groups

¹ L. L. Bernard in his new *Introduction to Sociology*, Crowell, 1942, also makes ample use of ethnological materials albeit in an empirical rather than theoretical way.

is also to be noted. In these and many other respects, the two Gillins have considerably raised the level of textbook writing and contributed immensely to the social understanding of the sociological neophyte.

There are eight main divisions of the introduction: (1) an orientation defining terms and methods; (2) a biological section that depicts the social life of animals, the relation of the organism to its environment, and population problems; (3) culture and social groupings based on kinship, bodily characteristics, physical proximity and cultural interests; (4) social institutions—marriage and the family, economic, educational, political and religious institutions; (5) social change and social control; (6) social processes: interaction, competition, contravention and conflict, accommodation, acculturation and assimilation; (7) a short introduction to social pathology, treating poverty and dependency, delinquency and crime; (8) a brief summary in which the role of sociology in prediction and control is reviewed. Of these eight divisions, sections III, IV, and VI make up the bulk of the 796 pages of text. There are adequate author and subject indexes.

The authors define sociology as "the study of interaction arising from the association of living beings" (p. 3), and thus allow the importance of sociological investigation among non-human organisms. Society "represents the largest grouping in which common customs, traditions, attitudes, and feelings of unity are operative" (p. 19), or is "a self-perpetuating group of people who recognize themselves as a group with common interests and definite cultural patterns" (p. 179).

What do Gillin and Gillin mean by sociology as a science? In the first place they emphasize the analogy between physical and social sciences and warn against the fallacy of common sense observation: "we shall make little progress in understanding society without using the methods which have been fruitful in the physical sciences and devising others applicable to our more involved problems" (p. 8). "In respect to social life the common-sense approach is . . . misleading because of the practical impossibility of acquiring more than a relatively limited experience of societies on the part of single individuals, and because of the interests, prejudices and emotions of individuals which cause them to ignore or reject large portions of the experiences which they do have" (p. 12). The student who remembers this may be puzzled when he comes to the study of social pathology and reads, "Up to the present, therefore, we have no very accurate indices of socially pathological conditions. We still depend upon common-sense observation . . ." (p. 709). What is really lacking is a clear account of the elements of natural science that can be transferred directly to the social sciences; what the reader gets is primarily the negative side of the picture.²

Without equivocation the authors show that social science cannot employ laboratory methods, though it can control observation in the field of social relationships without controlling the field itself (pp. 8, 14). This is not a fundamental obstacle, for similar conditions obtain in geology.

² There is no discussion of operationalism in the text. Whether its application is valid or invalid, its contemporary vogue gives it sufficient importance to warrant a brief, simple treatment.

The collaborators warn against too immediate concern with practical ends in sociological investigation and sum up by declaring, "Of course, one of the ultimate aims of science is the solution of problems having a practical importance, but a well-rounded view of the whole field is necessary to this end" (p. 13). Then they conclude with Thomas and Znaniecki that "from the method of study itself all practical considerations must be excluded if we want results to be valid" (p. 13).

There is also an indirect debt to Dilthey and Rickert in the assertion that human emotions, thoughts and psychical characteristics call for their own perspective, and the division of science into two main types, descriptive and generalizing (corresponding roughly to the idiographic and nomothetic elements of Windelband). It is to be regretted that the authors do not make more explicit use of these concepts in the body of the text.

Of course, textbook writing is essentially an unfinished task like the forming of human associations depicted by the textbook. We have already suggested one social lag which the Gillins have overcome—the inclusion of ethnological data and concepts. By the same token, they, like others, are still lagging behind the findings of historical sociology as presented by Max Weber, Alfred Weber, Hans Freyer, Otto Seeck, and Arnold Toynbee. The latter is not even mentioned in the index. Although the term progress is used (p. 330) we find it nowhere clearly defined. This is not to say that historical data do not appear—they are frequently employed for illustrative purposes, and often decisively, as in the chapter on economic institutions. But we do not get the sense of the growth and decline of whole civilizations and hence the last chapter is flat instead of exciting and relevant. Again in the chapter on religious institutions, H. R. Niebuhr's *Social Sources of Denominationalism* is noted in the bibliography but its influence does not appear in the text where it would have contributed greatly to the understanding of western Protestantism.

One way in which the volume might have been given more contemporary relevance would be to show the effects of the present war on social institutions and processes. The Fascist, Nazi, and Soviet states are described in formal terms, but not as recently affected by war-time conditions. Lederer's analysis of the mass state in Germany with its pulverization of personal-interest groups would have been distinctly suggestive. And although the authors mention the large number of mental cases among soldiers during the last war, there are no comparable data for the present conflict, nor some of the qualifying data such as the almost total lack of emotional instability in the R.A.F., nor the slackening of the divorce rate in Britain, etc. In the section on social pathology major interest goes to poverty and crime while war receives only a few paragraphs, and this in terms of World War I. How much more germane the analysis would be in terms of the war at our very doors! For then the final chapter on Summary and Conclusion would not read so much like reflections from another world, an academic world, as the world of flesh and blood to which we are inescapably linked.

R. A. SCHERMERHORN

Baldwin-Wallace College

Handbook of Sociology. By EDWARD BYRON REUTER. New York: The Dryden Press, 1941. Pp. viii+233. \$1.25.

This little volume is designed primarily to assist students in introductory courses to gain a clear conception of the nature and scope of sociology and to present a system of concepts to serve as a frame of reference for the organization of the data of the discipline. Part One describes various conceptions of sociology, ranging from folk sociology to sociology as a scientific study. Part Two is a summary of basic essentials in which the most fundamental concepts of sociology are described. Each summary attempts in one or two pages to state the present consensus of opinion of sociologists concerning the concept. Part Three consists of eighty-five pages of definitions of the most common terms used in sociology. The more important definitions are supplemented by quotations from the leading writers in the field. Where a term, such as collective behavior, has different usages these are indicated, thus briefly stating the different views in regard to the concept. Part Four describes twenty-five areas of specialized study in sociology, each description including a statement on the scope of research in the field specially prepared for this volume by some leading student of that phase of the discipline. A short list of evaluated references is given for each field. Thus the volume offers the student a bibliography of the outstanding books in sociology.

There are a few mistakes such as the statement that capitalism and socialism are mutually conflicting systems and "there is no resolution short of the complete annihilation of one system or the other" (p. 52). Here the author is ignoring the fact that a large and growing amount of collective enterprise has existed simultaneously with capitalism in the United States. In his emphasis on cultural determinism the author deprecates the significance of individual biological differences. "In the simple human group there is little difference in the mental ability of different members . . . Each normal child born into society is closely similar to every other in his mental potentialities" (p. 65). He asserts that the simple peoples readily accept the alcoholic beverages of the more advanced group; "these are obviously superior to their own" (p. 57). Thus he introduces value-judgments in what purports to be a scientific system of thought!

In spite of such occasional mistakes the book is an excellent summary of present sociological viewpoints and should be valuable to teachers as well as students of sociology

SEBA ELDRIDGE AND MARSTON MCCLUGGAGE

University of Kansas

Basic Concepts in Social Work. By HERBERT H. APTEKAR. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. \$2.50.

This book presents as its basic psychological concepts ambivalence, relationship, will and denial, movement, projection and identification, and others based upon the work of Otto Rank. Each of these basic psychological concepts is thoroughly and capably discussed, in well-organized and well-written chapters. In the case material, these concepts appear to be handled around the central pole of "agency function," which itself is conceived as

"providing the worker with his case work medium and with his limitation." For example, in a given situation, the worker may attempt to resolve conflicting (ambivalent) emotions by helping the client to a decision regarding his positive or negative desire to utilize the services (functions) of the agency. Similarly, movement of the client is conceived as being toward or away from the worker (and his function). It is difficult to evaluate these basic concepts without an evaluation of the psychotherapeutic philosophy upon which they are based.

To treat emotional "many-sidedness and vacillation" by "focusing attention upon agency function" appears to result in removing the center of interest from the client to the agency, rather than the agency's attempting to adapt its function to the needs of the client. These concepts result, further, in cloaking the worker in infallibility, since a client's withdrawal from the agency can always be interpreted as the client's laboriously achieved decision not to use the function of the agency.

Examination of the illustrative case material throughout this volume shows that the agency functions offered to the client are the tangible ones of relief-giving, child-placement, and so on. There is no acknowledgement that direct treatment of personality difficulties is one of the functions of social case work. The book, therefore, instead of seeing psychotherapy as one of the tools of case work, draws a subtle distinction between social casework and psychotherapy. This distinction becomes understandable when we observe the worker adhering to the fixed, inflexible, and tangible functions of the agency, thus simplifying the process of social case work. The price of this simplification is the dispensing with more thorough exploration of the client's situation and also dispensing with an attempt to understand the genesis of his difficulties. Genetic causality is discarded in favor of systematic (*Gestalt*) causality. Hence the content of the interviews is carefully restricted to the immediate situation.

In view of the above point of view it is not surprising to find commonly-used social case work and psychiatric terms re-defined on a more surface level, in line with the above-mentioned distinction between social case work and psychotherapy. It is precisely these factors, the disregard for the genesis of the difficulties plus the focus upon agency function, that produce interviews whose processes appear to be conducted according to intellectual formulae without sufficient individualization of the client or meeting of his emotional needs. Thus, the concepts presented in this book appear useful only when their application is restricted to fairly well-adjusted individuals whose problems are such that purely surface examination and planning alone are necessary. They would not appear to be helpful in an attempt to work with those neurotic clients who daily come to social agencies for assistance with personality difficulties as well as with environmental planning. Further, any assistance with environmental planning requires an understanding of the personality difficulties that are playing a part in the present situation.

The book presents a concise and consistent formula for social case work, achieved by overlooking the complexities of human motivations, emotions,

and possibilities of action. Ignored, too, is the fact that social workers are increasingly faced with clients' demands for help with emotional disturbances. To overlook these complexities and needs would mean a crippling limitation of the scope of social case work and an avoidance of the full responsibilities of this profession.

REGINA FEINER

Chicago

Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community. By OLEN LEONARD and C. P. LOOMIS. Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Agriculture Rural Life Studies: I, November, 1941. Pp. 72.

In a foreword, Carl Taylor states that this is the first of six studies of communities ranging from high stability to great instability. A seventh report will give the complete methodology and such generalizations as emerge. All the field workers will have at least a consultant part in the final report.

El Cerrito, San Miguel county, New Mexico, is a culturally stable community which has lost its grazing land and thus its economic base. It is now economically helpless, being reduced to a few irrigated remnants (one to four acres) of the great Spanish land grant (over 400,000 acres) of which it originally was a part. The village consists of some twenty-five families whose livelihood depends to a great extent upon WPA, CCC, and NYA aid. Those who leave the village usually return, but this pattern is beginning to break. The people are proud, independent, self-respecting Spanish Americans—a veritable cultural island in a sea of tragic change.

The authors both speak Spanish and lived in the community five and three months each as participant observers. They appear to have gained the confidence of the people after about one month. It is a fascinating report, with ten fine illustrations and eight charts, some of them cleverly combining the sociometric and ecological techniques.

If the other studies are as good as this and the seventh one does justice to the field reports, the whole series should be combined into a single volume. It would make an excellent source and methods book for students of community life and organization.

READ BAIN

Miami University

Possum Trot. Rural Community, South. By HERMAN C. NIXON. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Pp. viii+192. \$2.50.

A sociologist, wishing to read of the regional institutions and problems of the Southeast, can find among the now voluminous literature on the subject, items of greater interest and value to him than this of Nixon's. The general reader, naive respecting things Southern (to whom, indeed, the work seems addressed) could browse through it with some pleasure and profit.

The author proposed, by writing "the biography of an Alabama rural community" (p. 3), to personalize, particularize, and reveal the true Truth

about the South—something not revealed in the “statistical abstractions” and “abstract generalizations not at all applicable to human particulars” (pp. vii, 4). This was to be done in the folk idiom, and in the mood and rhythms of *Songs of the Soil*, Frank Green, Pearl Buck, and the *Psalms* (p. vii). All items about Possum Trot (an actual place and name) were to be served up at once, like a country dinner, for the reader to help himself to whatever he liked best (p. vii).

Pages 9–82 attempt just this, and the dish stimulates this appetite but little. The promised indiscriminating choice of traits for description leads to a diffused picture and loss of interest. Perhaps this is why Possum Trot and its numerous White and Negro characters fail to appear in more than two dimensions. The effort to use folk expressions and literary rhythms (Whitmanesque) seems self-conscious and does not add to an understanding of the subject matter.

Pages 83–159 contain a more or less “abstract” discussion of economic conditions in the upland cotton South with some attention to political and social components. It is a balanced, intelligent, statement, mixing some of the Agrarians’ nostalgia for things past with a realistic and liberal recognition of past and present exploitations. The analysis and solutions are Nixon’s own, although springing from a general body of Southern thought. He objects to over-commercialization of agriculture and loss of local folkways, and advises “live at home” farming, expansion of non-farm income, increased public enlightenment, and planning. Thirty pages of Addenda, composed largely of previously published articles, complement and extend this section.

Thus the half of the book which departs from the stated purpose is the more effective. While no one would agree with Nixon’s (or anybody’s!) treatment throughout, these pages are a stimulating primer on “The South.”

MORTON KING, JR.

Mississippi State College

Mobile Homes: A Study of Trailer Life. By DONALD OLEN COWGILL.
Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941. Pp. 127.
\$2.00, paper.

As a very improbable user, I learned more about traileritis from this monograph than I wanted to; as a sociologist, I learned a lot about the limitations, if not the futility, of the “participant observer” technique—at least as reported in this study. The author did have a questionnaire with about 250 items on it; he got 34 filled out by mail, 46 formally, and 51 informally by the author—131 in all. This is called the “sample,” but, of course, it is not a sample in any conceivable sense. He says, “It may be said, then, that this study is of a *group* of trailerites, a group which is not necessarily representative of the entire trailer population” (page 17). It may be said, first, that this is not a “group” at all; it is not even a *class* of trailerites—it is a *number* of them—with data collected under at least three different sets of conditions—all of them bad. It may also be said that it is

necessarily and certainly *not* representative of anything except 97 people with whom the author happened to come in contact during his travels and 34 whose addresses he got in various ways.

In fairness, however, it must be said that the author makes no claim for the "statistical" (my quotes) part of the study and is duly modest about even the participant part of it, but he thinks whatever value it has comes from the latter. I have to disagree with this, in all kindness, especially since he comes to the conclusion that the great sociologist, Roger Babson, is wrong in his 1936 "prediction" that by 1956 half the population will live in trailers. Cowgill analyzes the problem and concludes that 15 percent of the population is a "very generous estimate." I have never had traileritis (thank God!), never been a participant observer of trailerites (God forbid!), and have never studied the question for two days (as against Cowgill's two years), but if 20,000,000 people in these United States ever find "permanent residence in homes on wheels" (page 90) I'll eat Cowgill's latest De Luxe model without salt.

The real contribution of the study is in the facts presented—that no one knows how many people live in trailers and that there is at present no way to find out without prohibitive cost; costs and "architecture" of trailers; number and spatial distribution of trailer camps; and an excellent bibliography. There are many hints that would be useful to anyone who wanted to make a *sociological* investigation of trailerism. This one isn't.

READ BAIN

Miami University

Differentials in Internal Migration. By ALBERT HOYT HOBBS. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 1941. Pp. xi+122.

This field study of migration is concerned principally with a sample of 564 out-migrants and 182 in-migrants from and to the economically distressed borough of Plymouth, Luzerne County, Pa., during the period 1927 to 1937. This long-established community of more than 15,000 persons had more than 97% of the people engaged in anthracite coal mining. The population, 20 percent foreign-born, lost heavily by migration during the period studied.

Mr. Hobbs has made a careful attempt to determine the extent of selectivity represented by the migrations to and from this community. His attempt to limit his sample to persons responding to the differentials in economic opportunity existing within and without the community is commendable, though difficult to achieve with more than an approximate degree of success.

In addition to the usual evidences of sex and age selection among the migrants studied, the author found that out-migrants were younger, better schooled and more often single than in-migrants. The parents of out-migrants had occupational status above average for the community and the migrant children had achieved occupational status higher than that of their non-migrant brothers and sisters at the time of the survey. Migrants leaving

the community during the early part of the distressed period were better schooled than those leaving later.

Although sophomoric in spots, this monograph displays the results of careful work, and conclusions are cautiously drawn. The author holds that sociologically significant migration should be studied in relation to gradients. He concludes that in an area of declining opportunity where the economic gradient is sharp in relation to surrounding area, out-migration is selective of the "better educated, more intelligent, and upper classes . . ." He further concludes that selectivity in migration must be studied upon the assumption of gradients, and suggests that selectivity may be found to be related to the acuteness of the gradient. However, he gives no hint as to how these gradients are to be measured. Neither does he indicate whether he believes these inter-area gradients are the same for all classes of people concerned, nor whether all people concerned are equally aware of the nature, degree, and significance of the gradients. If gradients are to form the necessary background for the study of selective migration, there is a nice job to be done before the results of migration studies can be properly interpreted.

CHARLES E. LIVELY

University of Missouri

Children of Bondage. By ALLISON DAVIS and JOHN DOLLARD. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940. Pp. xxvii+299. \$2.25.

Children of Bondage is a first study in a series sponsored by the American Youth Commission of the American Council of Education on the development of Negro youth in the various sections of the United States. This particular study deals with the urban south and contains data and analyses of eight representative case studies selected from more than two hundred adolescents interviewed in New Orleans and Natchez.

The authors investigated the effect of social caste and social class position upon the development of Negro adolescent personality, utilizing the framework of reference as established by Dollard in his *Caste and Class in Southern-town* and W. Lloyd Warner's studies at the University of Chicago. The question raised is that of the discovery of how family and clique associations affected by the larger class and caste environment affect personality development.

Sociologists may take some issue with Davis' and Dollard's fundamental thesis of frustration-aggression as an over-simplification of a more complex social situation. If a less strict academic position is assumed, however, the analysis may be accommodated with a good deal of illumination on a difficult subject because of this very cross-fertilization of conceptualization.

The social classes differ in their expectations, repressions, rewards and punishments, and in the type of "anxiety state" they produce in the adolescents within their cultures. Lower class Negro adolescents, in general, are not blocked in goal responses of sex and aggression which are culturally permissive and actually stimulated by their class position; middle and upper

class Negro adolescents may not express themselves in such direct physical and cultural aggressions and may have their anxiety reduced only by behavior which conforms to the values of these classes—socializing values which repress direct impulsive, aggressive, behavior.

From their investigations Davis and Dollard come to the conclusion that social class appears to have been more important than "racial" status in shaping the habits and goals of the various children studied. They attribute this to the fact that social class governs a much wider area of the child's social relations than Negro-White controls.

The authors believe that their analysis is least important because it deals with the lives of Negroes. The fundamental importance of the study lies in its attempt to add something to the knowledge of the fundamental factors involved in the socializing process no matter what racial or nativity group is considered. The study should be especially stimulating for all interested in the formal and informal education of youth. Broad theoretical and social control problems are raised for all those who are involved in a society based on social classes.

DONALD C. MARSH

Wayne University

Dusk of Dawn. An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept. By W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940. Pp. viii+334. \$3.00.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois is a remarkable man in anybody's race. Born in New England in 1868, of Dutch and African descent, educated at Harvard, Berlin, and Paris, he early assumed a prominent role in the drama of race relations in the United States. He now gives us his autobiography. If one is looking for the usual autobiographical "facts" one is likely to be disappointed, for *Dusk of Dawn* is not that sort of book. It is, as the author says, "not so much my autobiography as the autobiography of a concept of race, elucidated, magnified and doubtless distorted in the thoughts and deeds which were mine."

DuBois's thinking and activity can be divided into three great periods. First, under the spell of the rising tide of science in the late nineteenth century, he felt that the approach to the race problem was one of science, of knowledge and education. He spent fourteen years teaching at Atlanta University and making the pioneer Atlanta University studies of the Negro. But there were many disillusionments, and finally there came a complete break with what he called the "Booker Washington machine." DuBois went North and founded the Niagara Movement in 1906 to combat the compromising tendencies of Booker Washington. This marks the beginning of the second phase of his attack on the race problem. Soon afterward the N.A.A.C.P. was founded, and DuBois spent more than thirty years as its director of publications and research and editor of the *Crisis*. Now the emphasis became one of militant struggle, of fighting for the recognition of the rights of Negroes through the courts, through organization, propaganda, boycott. Then came World War I, followed by further disillusionment and

change of outlook. DuBois realized "that the color bar could not be broken by a series of brilliant immediate assaults," that the race problem was not based merely on "ignorance and ill will," but that there were other bulwarks of prejudice: economic motives intertwined with imponderable ideological factors. He sought to revamp the program of the N.A.A.C.P., but found himself almost alone in his fight. Again a dramatic conflict marked the end of a phase of his career, this time an open break with the organization which he had led for so many years. In 1934 he left the N.A.A.C.P. and went to Atlanta University where he is now teaching and writing. In this third phase of his career his philosophy is this: segregation and race prejudice are realities which are not going to yield any time soon. The strategy of violence is futile. Therefore the Negro must concentrate his efforts upon developing to the utmost the efficiency of the segregated institutions which are his, at the same time carrying forward the long-time program of education and propaganda for bringing the social structure into accord with the democratic ideal.

Dusk of Dawn is a remarkable document. It is a world-wide view of the race drama written by one of the leading players. It is required reading for all who study the problem of human relations.

GUY B. JOHNSON

University of North Carolina

A History of the Jews in England. By CECIL ROTH. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. xii+306. \$5.00.

This fresh erudite history of the Jews in England contains much that is valuable for the sociologist interested in problems of minority relations, antisemitism, xenophobia, and mass psychoses. On the basis of diligent research in the original sources, Dr. Roth, Reader in Post-Biblical Jewish Studies in the University of Oxford, and author of many books on Jewish history (including the *Magna Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*, a bibliographical guide to Anglo-Jewish history), has now given us a learned and felicitous account of Anglo-Jewry, containing much new and striking material. The author traces the fortunes of the Jews in the Isle of the Sea from their earliest settlement through their establishment as the most narrowly feudal of all Jewish communities of the middle ages, their vicissitudes and sufferings, their expulsion in 1290 and re-admission under Cromwell, their fortunes under the Restoration, Anne, the Hanoverians and Georges, and finally their formal emancipation in 1858-59. The account ends there but a brief epilogue brings the tale closer to our time.

Like every history of the Jews it is mostly a lugubrious martyrology mitigated only slightly by the slow humanization of the attitude of Christian Europe toward the Jewish minority. Throughout Roth emphasizes the crucial importance of the economic factors in explaining the changes and chances of Jewish history, though he does not by any means neglect the ideological determinants.

Most illuminating is the exposition of the role of the Jews in the financial system of the medieval period. The rise of Christianity undermined the

economic and social life of the Jews. In the Dark Ages certain branches of manufacturing and trade were almost exclusively in Jewish hands, but gradually Gentile competition became stronger, especially after the Italian maritime republics came into their own. So the Jew was driven to employ his capital by financing the enterprises of others, which was reinforced by the anti-Jewish, restrictive policy of the church, based on a faulty exegesis. of opposing the lending of money at interest in any case.

As financial agents of the kings who exploited them most rapaciously they had to exercise pressure upon their clients in order to meet the constant demands upon their purses, though at that their rates were frequently lower than their non-Jewish competitors. "Never was it more true that the Jews were like a sponge, sucking up the floating capital of the country, to be squeezed from time to time into the Treasury; while the king, high above them and sublimely contemptuous of their transactions was in fact the arch-usurer of the realm" (p. 52).

Moreover it was impossible to emancipate the Jews economically, e.g., by direct efforts forbidding them to lend money at interest, as was attempted by the *Statutum de Judeismo* in 1275. For as Roth points out, and this is just as important for our time, economic emancipation is impossible without social emancipation.

Roth's account sheds revealing light on the slow, painful evolution of toleration for the Jewish group, and points realistically to the interpenetration of economic and religious motives. Regrettably there is no reference to Sombart's thesis as to the influence of the Jews on capitalism, nor to the possible connection of the Jews with the efflorescence of English capitalism under the Puritans, as a sidelight to the Weber-Troeltsch-Tawney theory. Limitations of space forbid calling attention to numerous other significant insights available to the sociologist in this historical material, into the mechanics and manipulation of anti-Jewish feeling; the assimilative and accommodative processes operative among the Jews; the indirect, muddling method of the English in granting toleration to the Jews rather than through any outright rationalistic attempt to transform extant status relations; the diffusion of myths about the Jew throughout the European culture complex; the pattern of Jewish-Christian relations in England as the model for the treatment of the Jews in the United States.

EPHRAIM FISCHOFF

Hunter College

La Civilisation et la Folie Raciste. By GEORGES LAKHOVSKY. New York: Editions de la Maison Francaise, Inc., 1941. Pp. 222.

This popular little book on the madness of the racialist dogma and its threat to civilization is a reprint. Originally published in France in 1939, it was confiscated and destroyed by the Nazis after their invasion of France. Lakhovsky combats the racial myth in the light of his own peculiar doctrine of "cellular oscillation," the source of life, which reflects geographic, climatic, and alimentary differences. He seems inclined to the dubious view of the unlimited malleability of racial characters even in regard to physique

and physiognomy, on the analogy of plants which show striking differences of structure as their environment changes. He catalogues the follies of racism, and its atrocities against the Jews, whose influence in Germany he exaggerates; and he discusses its anti-Christian character, quoting in this connection a powerful sermon by the Abbé Frémont and pronouncements of sundry other French Christian groups. The barbaric and psycho-pathological aspect of the racial myth is brought out in two quotations from Nietzsche's excoriation of it in letters to Fritsch, the virulent anti-semitic. In a candid chapter entitled "Mea Culpa" Lakhovsky retracts certain views he had expressed in earlier books (*L'Etatisme, mort des nations*; *Le Racisme*; and *De Moscou à Madrid*), in which he had praised fascism and Mussolini for their alleged achievements in staving off communism.

EPHRAIM FISCHOFF

Hunter College

American Family Behavior, By JESSIE BERNARD. New York and London: Harper and Bros., 1942. Pp. xviii+564. \$3.50.

The organizational framework of this book is summed up in the quotation from Cooley which heads the first chapter of the text. "There are two sorts of forces, one personal and one institutional, which hold people together in wedlock. . . ." The first part of the book deals with the institutional forces. The author appraises in terms of clearly stated criteria the reproductive, protective, socializing, and affectional functions of the family. The listing of legal, moral, and customary norms is followed by interesting chapters on conformity and non-conformity to these norms and on institutions and change.

The point of view then shifts to interpersonal relationships within the family as a primary group. Among the topics considered are parent-child and sib relationships, the theory of love, the marriage relationship (primarily in its authority and power aspects), the home and the family, and others.

What distinguishes the text even more than its structure is what may be termed its sociometric point of view. The reviewer indorses the author's belief that "the main sociological contribution of this book is its attempt at a sociometric approach." This emphasis is revealed in the well-nigh exhaustive coverage of all relevant quantitative and near-quantitative researches in the field, and above all in the consistent endeavor to define concepts and organize the material at least with a view to verification and measurement. The use of charts and graphs adds to the precision and clarity of the exposition.

The unique contribution of the book hardly lies in any substantive discoveries or even hypotheses about family life. It is a work of re-formulation, organization, and to some extent, synthesis rather than of new explorations into the raw materials of family processes. The most original chapters, those on family functions, institutional conformity, on the theory of love are novel in the following sense: the author placed certain familiar problems and concepts (for example, how well does the family fulfill a given function?) within a verifiable frame of reference and ingeniously utilized various

studies to serve as indices and to throw light on these formulations. For the J-curve hypothesis of institutional conformity the author acknowledges her indebtedness to F. H. Allport, but she is the first to analyze a number of studies on the family from this particular and useful point of view. All this is not to minimize but to characterize the author's contribution.

Now and then a study is reported too uncritically. One can, perhaps, sympathize with the author's temptation to clutch at crumbs in certain arid corners of the field. Several topics deserved a more adequate treatment: courtship, selection of mates, divorce, bereavement.

Many problems of the contemporary family, even in the realm of intimate personal relationships, are so largely and peculiarly the results of social change that one would wish for a greater emphasis upon the impact of institutional change on interpersonal relationships. Chapters VII and VIII on institutional change are good but the reviewer felt some lack of a more organic treatment of the institutional and the personal throughout the book (for example, problems of marriage due to the changing roles of women).

It is not easy to analyze family relationships and yet communicate to the student the flavor of experience and preserve the continuity of family processes from courtship to marriage to parenthood. There are texts which have succeeded better in this highly important but difficult task. But with the rapid development of the field of the family no single text can, perhaps, tell the whole story. Peculiar needs of the students, predilections of the instructor for this or that emphasis will determine which book is to serve as the basic textbook and which others as supplementary reference. Bernard's book will be found useful in either capacity.

MIRRA KOMAROVSKY

Barnard College

Marriage for Moderns. By HENRY A. BOWMAN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1942. Pp. ix+493. \$3.00.

Since this book makes no sociological pretensions it would be unfair to apply sociological criteria to its evaluation. It does in a sincere and idealistic manner what it sets out to do; namely, to answer the questions which young women of junior college age ask. How do you know it's love? Rules for study when separated from one's fiance. Tests for emotional maturity. How to choose a mate. Reasons for not petting. Arguments for premarital virginity. The etiquette of the engagement period. Advice on honeymoons. Sexual adjustments. Economic and leisure time problems in marriage. Problems of pregnancy, childbirth, and sterility. Problems of divorce. These are among the topics treated.

The significance of the title of the book is not clear, since the viewpoint is more conservative on the whole than that of Groves, particularly with respect to the work of married women. There is relatively more emphasis on premarital problems and problems of the early years of marriage than in Groves' work also. The family is seen as incidental to marriage rather than vice versa.

There is a continuing need for such books as this, practical, common-sense, down-to-earth, and useful. It seems gratuitous, therefore, for such a volume to covet the mantle of "science" for its teachings. For example: "The pain of childbirth . . . should be approached in the light of modern science and should be put into its correct perspective. The pain may be the most immediately obvious aspect of childbirth . . . but it is not the most important aspect. The important thing is that the woman has produced a new being, part of herself, part of her husband. . . ." Why it is any more "scientific" to emphasize the social and psychological aspects of childbirth rather than the physiological ones is not exactly clear. This, however, is mere caviling, and in no way detracts from the value of the book as a whole.

The value of this volume lies in part in the fact that it is attitudinal as well as informational in orientation. That is, it seeks to inculcate certain attitudes toward marriage as well as to impart useful information. The young woman is therefore helped emotionally as well as intellectually in her marital preparation. The poetical Epilogue, which is a lyrical panegyric on marriage, serves admirably to give the student the emotional lift which the author himself feels necessary for successful marriage. A $7\frac{1}{2}$ page glossary and a $5\frac{1}{2}$ page bibliography are included.

JESSIE BERNARD

Lindenwood College

The Art of Courtly Love. By ANDREAS CAPELLANUS. With introduction, translation, and notes by John Jay Parry. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Number XXXIII of the *Records of Civilization*. Pp. xi+218. \$2.75.

This book is first of all a work of literature, and the translator has given us a smooth version that does not sound like a translation. Indeed there may be some question as to whether the resulting flavor is not more modern than medieval. It may be, however, that an elaborate argument on the etiquette of sex relations is essentially modern.

The editor's introduction is scholarly and adequate, exhibiting the place of this twelfth-century French treatise in the stream of polite culture, from Ovid and the Moslems to the end of the Middle Ages. It is thus seen to fit into the interests not only of litterateurs but also of sociologists.

The criterion of courtly love seems to have been furtiveness, so that it could not exist between husband and wife, while its scope covered the whole range of sex dalliance, including the supreme consummation. The total picture is a telling revelation of the effect on human nature of a scheme of society affording no adequate outlet for wholesome human impulses.

The form of the argument is more suggestive of scholastic interest in debate than of spontaneous sex interest, but perhaps it took an elaborate process of logic-chopping to give plausibility to an intricate system of proprieties governing the approaches of men of the middle and upper-class levels to women of their own or of other ranks and also the responses of the ladies. Perhaps the most interesting part of the whole panoply is the matter-

of-fact direction to rape a farm woman if you have the misfortune to fall in love with such. Of interest also is the frequent affirmation that the essence of real nobility is in personal character.

The course of the discussion brings forward sundry observations of modern significance, such as the "experience that when poverty comes in, the things that nourished love begin to leave" or the discovery that "a woman who puts all her reliance on her rouge usually doesn't have any particular gifts of character." Moreover, "in practicing the solaces of love thou shalt not exceed the desires of thy lover." Furthermore, "it is never held to the discredit of a woman if in a time of urgent need she accepts gifts from her lover and takes full advantage of his generosity."

The final Book, on "The Rejection of Love," by alleging that "any man who devotes his efforts to love loses all his usefulness" casts doubts on the seriousness of all "the rules of love." Can the work as a whole be a clever satire?

ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

Sterling College

Social Influences Affecting the Behavior of Young Children. By RUTH PEARSON KOSHUK. Monog. of Soc. for Res. in Child Development., Vol. VI, Serial No. 28, No. 2, 1941. Pp. iii+71.

The author surveys the significant research publications (since 1925 through August 1940) which have dealt with the influence of social factors, broadly defined, upon the behavior of young children.

Studies are grouped according to the sharpness of their focus on the socio-cultural aspects of environment. The first section presents briefly the viewpoints of authors who "ignore or minimize" social influences; the second section mentions a few who "recognize but deplore" them. A longer third section deals with proposals for socio-psychological research, trends in basic concepts, and studies dealing specifically with research techniques and methodological problems.

The major share of the review summarizes studies relating social influences to child behavior. These are grouped into ten types as follows: Ecological Studies and Census-Type Surveys of Social Backgrounds; Comparison of Groups with Widely Divergent Backgrounds; Comparison of Behavior Before and After Marked Environmental Change; Mental Growth Careers and the Predictive Value of Early Tests; Comparison of Behavior in Various Groups or Situations at the Same Period; Analysis of Home Environment in Relation to Child's Behavior and Social Adjustment; Observation of Social Interaction, under Relatively Uncontrolled Conditions; Experiments in Social Interaction; Observation under Relatively Controlled Conditions; Clinical Case-study; the Socio-Psychiatric Approach; Longitudinal or Genetic Studies. There is a bibliography of 525 titles.

Throughout, the author stresses trends in viewpoints, basic concepts and types of approach, rather than merely summarizing findings.

HELEN C. DAWE

University of Wisconsin

The Beginnings of Social Behavior in Unicellular Organisms. By H. S. JENNINGS. University of Pennsylvania Bicentennial Conference. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941. \$0.25.

Defining social behavior as "behavior and reactions of individuals to other individuals as such," the author finds evidence of such behavior in the mating reactions of the unicellular *Paramecium*. Members of a single family or clone resulting from continued division of descendants of a single individual do not mate, but individuals of certain, though not all, unrelated families brought together aggregate and cling together in masses and finally are paired in conjugation. There are not simply two sexes but in one species four, in another, eight different sets or castes which mate or refuse to mate according to sharply defined rules, and only members of mature clones mate. As the author shows in some detail, the social system is actually extremely complex.

The infusorian has no awareness of this social system; in evolution generally process and action are primary, conscious awareness, if present, is secondary. The objective correlate of self-consciousness is found in these selective reactions of *Paramecium*.

C. M. CHILD

Stanford University

America Organizes Medicine. By MICHAEL M. DAVIS. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941. Pp. viii+335. \$3.00.

Here is valuable information for millions of people on two topics closest to their hearts: their health and their wealth. Needless to say, those who need such information most will read it least, and probably not ten percent of the doctors, who are most vitally affected, professionally and financially, will ever read it at all. Most people do not know (in spite of the *Cost of Medical Care* studies) that we spend enough money on medical service each year to give adequate care to the whole population and a fair income to all engaged in rendering medical service. It is better known that some doctors make enormous incomes, that many receive ridiculously inadequate remuneration, and that some people pay too much and many pay too little. Why? The answer is, "defective organization."

The triumphs of medicine have increased the cost of medical care: there are more chronic and fewer self-limiting illnesses; more people above age 50; more medical knowledge and more costly equipment and medicines; more is known—"less death, but more doctoring."

Davis shows the fallacies of the "freedom of choice" and "state medicine" bugaboos, discusses the present and emergent organization of medical care, and emphasizes the necessity for setting up scientifically defined yardsticks of service and cost. He stresses the fact that "public medicine" is on the way, that taxation and insurance are equally useful and interrelated means of meeting the costs of medical care, that we must go ahead by utilizing *all* the gains that have been made, coordinating and experimenting until we solve the problems of medical standards and practices, administration,

public and private agencies, fair and adequate pay for competent physicians at costs the patients can afford to pay.

In presenting this sane, realistic discussion of one of the major social problems of the day, candor and truth compel him to say some unkind things about the American Medical Association, but he is quick to add that there is a rapidly growing sentiment among physicians themselves which is quite the opposite of the "official" A.M.A. "policies." It would seem that a revolution in leadership of the A.M.A. is about due so far as its social and economic attitudes are concerned; medically, it is, and long has been, doing excellent work. It is simple, ignorant, and unscientific in its treatment of the social aspects of medicine.

This book should have a much wider reading than it is likely to get. Certainly social scientists in all fields cannot afford to neglect it.

READ BAIN

Miami University

Probation and Parole Progress; Yearbook, National Probation Association, 1941. Edited by MARJORIE BELL. New York: 1941. Pp. vii+470. Cloth \$1.75; paper \$1.25.

Principles and Methods in Dealing with Offenders. By HELEN PIGEON and others. A publication of the Public Service Institute, Department of Public Instruction, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1941. Pp. ix+428. Cloth \$2.50; paper \$2.00.

The social invention of probation was a hundred years old when the National Probation Association held its annual meeting in Boston on May 29-31, 1941. As befits a centennial year book, several of the 34 papers deal with the beginnings, the development and the probable future of probation, under the topical heading, "History and Prophecy." The other six topical headings are concerned with crime causation, trends in juvenile court practice, methods of aiding the adolescent, case work on the probation and parole level, and an especially valuable legal digest of the most recent pertinent legislation throughout the nation.

Except for a few platitudes and some unavoidable repetition of old materials, most of the articles are solid contributions and serve to explain why the probation people are the "elite" of criminological practitioners. While not unmindful of the limitations imposed by the lack of scientific formulations of human behavior and societal forces, they are a do-something-practical group. Their history and their current thinking as reflected in these papers show it. The probation workers are in the midst of working out a profession based on a combination of skills from their own experiences, plus techniques from the case work and criminological fields. Their papers give considerable attention, direct and implied, to the clarification of their functions and the role they play. Of particular interest to sociologists is the fact that crime is being viewed more and more as primarily "natural" social phenomena, rather than as bizarre psychopathy, for the most part. On the other hand,

no direct mention is made of "white collar criminality," a recent concept that has broadened the whole field immeasurably and is a challenge to new research and new thinking.

Probation and parole workers, of course, must be concerned with immediate problems, and cannot stop to conjure with abstruse theories. They earnestly wish to refine and expand their techniques and services. Since it is impossible in a brief comment to adequately appraise even one of the 34 papers, the reviewer wishes to present what he considers the keystone thought in the entire book in reference to the advancement of probation work. It is a statement in the article by Eduard C. Lindeman and has both theoretical and practical significance. He says, "... Experts (probation and parole officials) functioning in a democracy can succeed only when their experience is blended with the experience of the people with whom they labor. If then we want parole (and probation) to succeed better than it has in the past, we need parole officers trained in a new way. The skill they need above all others is that of releasing the social forces of the local community. If they cannot do this, they cannot succeed no matter how much they know about criminology or individual psychology . . ."

This volume will appeal primarily to students of criminology, but it also has another appeal: it describes an interest group functioning under obstacles in a very dynamic society.

Dealing with Offenders is used as a basic text book for in-service training of the public employees in the correctional and penal fields in Pennsylvania. It is designed for 24 weekly sessions of two-and-one-half hours each which are apparently held at various institutions and headquarters in the State, and conducted under the discussion, rather than the lecture method.

The auspices of the volume is interesting, unique, and sets up a hopeful pattern. The Department of Public Instruction in Pennsylvania has called in and cooperated with the Pennsylvania Government Administrative Service which has branches at the University of Pennsylvania and Pennsylvania State College. In addition, the Department of Public Instruction invited scholars and experienced penologists,—and altogether the book has managed a nice balance between an orderly academic training program coupled with practical techniques for conventional, contemporary criminology.

The book is divided into two parts: "The Criminal Justice Program in Pennsylvania," and "The Treatment of the Delinquent," each containing six chapters. The first part deals with police, detention, courts, probation, institutions and release procedures, in which history, development, functions and methods are stressed. Part Two covers the behavior of the delinquent, the treatment of individual offenders, case work for treatment, development of community understanding, institutional management and prevention, and other pertinent data. All of the twelve chapters are valuable for training of actual workers in the field. However, a warning is hereby sounded on Chapter VII, "The Behavior of the Delinquent," because of its strong psychiatric bias, and misplaced emphasis on certain co-causal factors.

In general, this manual is vital in importance for the patterns it sets in applied criminology. It recognizes a weakness and seeks to correct it. Nowhere in the nation, except possibly in the training of prison guards in New York, has an effort of this kind been made. More important than the how-to-do-it aspects, are the ideational data which, if conventional correctional workers are modifiable, should develop new perspectives and thus increase efficiency.

DONALD CLEMMER

Joliet, Illinois

BOOK NOTES

The Development of Public Recreation in Metropolitan Chicago. By ELIZABETH HALSEY. Chicago: Recreation Commission, 1940. Pp. xii+344. \$1.00.

Detailed historical study, with special emphasis upon the regional problems. Some remedies are proposed. One interesting aspect of the question (which would require a separate study but might save Chicago and other cities millions of dollars in the future) is hinted at by the author, "Much waste and some corruption have marked expenditures for public recreation" (page 291). This probably should go in the "Department of Understatement"—at least for Chicago. The Recreation Commission should institute and publish such a study.

The Attitude of the Southern White Press toward Negro Suffrage, 1932-1940. Edited by RAYFORD W. LOGAN, with a Foreword by Charles H. Wesley. Washington, D. C.: Foundation Publishers, 1940. Pp. 115+xii. \$.75.

This collection of editorial and news excerpts, arranged chronologically for each of the Southern states, is excellent source material for those who want to study politics, racial ideologies, etc. All shades of opinion are represented, from an open espousal of political equality on down to the *Charleston News and Courier's* admission that "It fears and hates democratic government. . . . All self-respecting White people in the South believe in aristocratic government and are opposed to democracy as defined and explained by President Roosevelt at Man-teo."

The Negro in Congress, 1870-1901. By SAMUEL DENNY SMITH. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. Pp. 160+viii. \$2.50.

This is a survey of the careers of the twenty-one Negroes who served in Congress during and immediately after Reconstruction. The author presents data on the education, occupation, previous social status (slave or free), and racial stock (Negro or mixed) of these men. He then discusses their careers in Congress and evaluates their work. The book is well documented and will serve as a useful summary of the subject if one makes allowance for a certain amount of bias. The author concludes that "the Negroes failed to accomplish much worth while in Congress," that "they served to keep alive race friction, and they were used as a political football . . ." He thinks that these men enjoyed superior advantages, had a fine chance to make good, and failed. He implies that inherent racial qualities are partly to blame. Such conclusions do not contribute much to the understanding of social conflict during Reconstruction.

Slavery Times in Kentucky. By J. WINSTON COLEMAN, JR. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. Pp. xiv+351. \$3.00.

This is one of the best of the studies of slavery as it actually existed in one of the southern states. Without shedding tears over the good old days and without wasting words, the author presents a series of very readable chapters in Kentucky history. Kentucky was a state of small plantations and small slaveholdings, and slavery there was on the whole more easy-going than it was in the Deep South, but the author does not dwell unduly upon the pleasanter

aspects of the picture. He portrays the auction block, the activities of the despised traders in Negroes, the process of selling Negroes "down the river," and the efforts of the Negroes to escape to free territory or to avenge themselves upon those who mistreated them. He also discusses the efforts made in Kentucky to colonize freed slaves in Liberia and the work of "crusaders for freedom," such as Cassius Clay, James Birney, and John Fee. The book is well documented and illustrated.

Three Generations: The Story of a Colored Family of Eastern Tennessee. By CHARLES W. CANSLER. Privately printed, 1939. Pp. 173+viii. \$1.25.

The first half of this book gives the story of the author's parents' and grandparents' generations. It is based on family tradition, reminiscences, old letters, and an imaginative reconstruction of certain episodes. The rest of the book is autobiographical. The author is a well known colored school principal of Knoxville, Tennessee. His book is a useful account of the struggles, achievements, and adjustments of a colored family in the South.

Health and the Doctors. By INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS. New York: 211 Fourth Ave., 1941. Pp. 15. (September, 1941, issue of *Propaganda Analysis*, a monthly, at \$2.00 per year. Temporarily suspended.)

Recites what is generally known about health needs and medical costs and exposes the tie-up between the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Medical Association in opposing social medicine; and indicates the growing revolt within the AMA and the drift toward various forms of group medicine.

Child Psychology: Child Development and Modern Education. Ed. by CHARLES E. SKINNER and PHILIP LAWRENCE HARRIMAN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. Pp. xii+522. \$3.00.

This symposium has been prepared as a general textbook for courses in child psychology. The primary emphasis is psychological. The joint authorship provides competent discussions of varied phases of the subject matter but also weakens the presentation through lack of integration. The appendix, which outlines the content of each chapter, should prove useful to students. A work-book based on the textbook is also available.

Regional United States. By HANNAH LOGASA. Boston: The F. W. Faxon Company, 1942. Pp. xv+71.

This is a list of references emphasizing more the expression of *locale* than information about an area. It will be most useful to librarians and educators. Ballads, fiction, life stories, poetry, folklore, tall stories, and history, are listed under headings such as States, Cities, Rivers, Indians, and Sections. References are designated as children's, high school, or adult reading. An address list of publishers is included.

SCIENCE & SOCIETY

Volume VI, Number 2, Spring, 1942

CONTENTS

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| The Joals in Peace and War | Frank . Harrison |
| Class Forces in the English Civil War | David W. Peregorsky |
| Conflicting Trends in the Populist Movement | Harlan R. Crippen |
| Dialectical Materialism and Recent Philosophy | B. J. McGill |

also

Ernest J. Simmons on *Mission to Moscow*, Howard Selsam on *A Generation of Materialism*, Edwin Berry Burgum on *American Renaissance*, Lewis S. Feuer on *Ideas for the Ice Age*, Mitchell Franklin on *The Quest for Law*.

30 East 20th St.,
New York, N.Y.

35 cents per copy
Annual Subscription, \$1.25

THE ANNALS—September 1942

MINORITY PEOPLES IN A NATION AT WAR

Edited by J. P. SHALLOO, Ph.D., and DONALD YOUNG, Ph.D.
Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania

This volume treats of the background and the status of minorities in the United States: Negroes, territorial peoples of the United States, Filipinos, Jews, Germans, Italians, immigrants from Axis-conquered countries, Latin Americans, and French Canadians.

The relation of minorities to the war effort is considered, especially in the case of the Negro. Other phases dealt with are aid to aliens and refugees, alien scientists and the war, restrictions on naturalized aliens and American-born children of aliens, subversive activities, foreign efforts to increase disunity, and race prejudice as affected by the war.

\$2.00

(\$1.00 each for additional copies to members of the Academy)

When writing advertisers please mention the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

